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ABSTRACT

Contained in this document are articles, publications, research documents, and prepared statements submitted to the special senatorial subcommittee on American Indian Education. Also included are commentaries, letters, and memorandums from key legislators and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel to the subcommittee members and staff. All of the entries are related to the policy, organization, and administration of Indian education. The question of who should control Indian education is discussed, and recommendations for legislation are made. (LS)

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INDIAN EDUCATION, 1969

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

POLICY, ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND NEW
LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE AMERICAN INDIANS

PART 2—APPENDIX

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. E. S. RABEAU, DIRECTOR, INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: We appreciate this opportunity to present the health problems of American Indians and Alaska Natives, and explain the correlation of the health program with educational needs and problems.

Indians and Alaska Natives have been receiving health services from the Federal Government since the early 1800s, however it is only since 1955 that there has been a separate health program, subject to its own appropriation and Congressional review. That year, responsibility for health care was transferred to the Public Health Service from the Department of the Interior, and the Indian Health Service was established to administer the program.

Implicit in the successful conduct of any program is the participation of the people concerned. This is especially vital in the Indian health program where the Indian people generally do not understand good health principles and therefore have a basic reluctance to accept services available to them. A prime mission of the Indian Health Service has been and is to involve the Indian people in planning, operating and evaluating the health program. Over 50 percent of the Service's employees are of Indian descent. In addition, through health committees established reservation-wide and in individual communities, Indian and Alaska Native people are working side by side with the professional health staff. They are assessing their health problems and initiating positive action to overcome them. They have been using the health facilities more and more. Hospital admissions have nearly doubled since 1955; outpatient visits made to hospitals, health centers and field clinics have more than tripled; and the number of dental services provided has almost quadrupled.

In these past 13½ years, considerable progress has been made in raising the health level of these two populations: infant death rates have declined from 65.0 per 1,000 live births in 1954 to 32.2 per 1,000 live births in 1967; tuberculosis death rates are down 60 percent, gastroenteric death rate are down 51 percent, and deaths from influenza and pneumonia are down 27 percent. Despite these improvements however, in general the health level of Indians and Alaska Natives is about 20 to 25 years behind that of the general population. The leading health problems are communicable diseases among children; accidents; mental health problems including alcoholism; nutritional deficiencies; dental deficiencies; and poor water and sanitation.

Illnesses among children, and particularly the high infant death and disease rates are the most important health problem affecting the Indians. Reasons are inextricably wound together with a number of social, economic and educational problems. For the first 28 days of life there is little, if any, difference between the mortality rate of the Indians and the general population because of the high percentage (96%) of Indian births in hospitals. This gives the child a good start which carries him through the first month of life. By a month's time however, he has been exposed to the hostile environment of Indian life and from one month to one year of age, the Indian death rate changes to four times that of the general population. Most of these post-neonatal deaths are from respiratory conditions, gastroenteritis and diarrheas. In addition, many of those who survive illnesses are left with chronic or disabling conditions which can affect them adversely for the rest of their lives.

We recognize the importance of total and comprehensive health care for those we serve, including preventive, curative and rehabilitative measures. We are concerned with the patient as an individual, and as a member of a family unit and of a community. Every factor affecting health must be considered.

Many Indians and Alaska Natives, especially infants and children, suffer from nutritional deficiencies. Gross primary malnutrition is relatively rare, but mild and moderately severe nutritional deficiencies are common, especially among children and women of childbearing age. Studies in several countries have shown that inadequate nutritional intakes during the first three years of life will produce significant stunting of physical growth and irreversible stunting of mental growth and development.

Among the Indian population nutritional deficiencies associated with infectious diseases are frequent, and are contributing or complicating factors in a wide variety of other health problems and illnesses including chronic diseases, high infant mortality and high infant and maternal morbidity. A large number of pediatric admissions to Indian Health Service hospitals show signs of malnutrition. This occurs most frequently in children of preschool age and is more severe and damaging when the child is under one year of age. Among the Navajos, it is estimated that 12 percent of the infants hospitalized have anemia of the iron deficiency type.

A 1966 review of Sioux Indian women in their 3rd trimester of pregnancy on South Dakota Reservations showed 26 percent to have nutritional anemia and a study of 78 children 0–3 years in 1967 on Kodiak Island, Alaska, revealed an average hemoglobin level of 10.3 Gm percent, as against normal rates of 14 to 15 Gm. Thirty-two of the children with the most severe anemia already had more than two documented episodes of otitis media, pneumonia or serious upper respiratory infections.

With the average Indian and Alaska Native family living on a yearly income of $1,500 to $1,900, it is virtually impossible for them to have nutritionally adequate diets without substantial supplementation of what they can provide with their limited financial resources. One new effort will be started within the next month on the Navajo Reservation as a joint project of the Tribe, U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Indian Health Service. Under a new program for low income groups vulnerable to malnutrition, Indians and Alaska Natives are eligible to receive supplemental foods which are high in nutrients. Included are evaporated milk, iron-enriched cereal, and canned fruits, vegetables and meat. Prior to initiation of the program, a team of nutrition professionals from the National Center for Chronic Disease Control, the University of Pittsburgh and the Indian Health Service is evaluating the nutrition status of members of the Navajo Lower Greasewood Chapter who will be receiving the supplement.

A thorough program of education in nutrition is conducted throughout the Indian Health Service, adapting proper principles to the food habits and cultural practices of the Indian and Alaska Native people. Advice and counseling is provided by trained nutritionists and dietitians and by physicians, nurses and other health personnel.

Other programs to combat the poor state of maternal and child health among Indians and Alaska Natives have been intensified efforts to get women to attend pre- and post-natal clinics and to avail themselves of family planning services. About 80 percent of prenatal patients now are seen at least once by a physician and 35 percent have medical supervision five or more times during pregnancy. Some 21,500 women have had family planning services since 1965, representing 28.5 percent of the women in the child bearing age. Twice as many women (50%) have been returning for postnatal examinations since family planning has been offered extensively.

Participation in the Head Start program of the Office of Economic Opportunity has given the Service an opportunity to examine a number of children, identify their physical and mental needs and arrange for corrective measures before the child starts school. The Indian Health Service examined approximately 8,000 youngsters last year in conjunction with this program.

In fiscal year 1967, preschool children accounted for 19,000 hospitalizations in Indian Health Service hospitals and the number of outpatient visits for preschoolers at Indian Health Service hospitals and field clinics was 313,000.

The health of Indian school age children is an area of primary concern. In addition to the regular, family-oriented health program, the Indian Health Service conducts the school health program in Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools, including the following activities:

1. Physical examinations, preventive care, and promotion of normal growth and development similar to that in the usual school health program in the United States.
2. Complete medical care in case of illness.
3. Correction of defects and medical rehabilitation.
4. Dental care.

5. Technical assistance to school staffs concerning health material used in teaching, and development of a heathful environment in schools and dormitories.

Implementation of the school health program requires different approaches according to the characteristics of the respective schools. A common denominator however, is the concept of health care provided by a health team—physicians, dentists, nurses, health educators, nutritionists, medical social workers, sanitarians—in an integrated pattern. In general, day schools located near an Indian Health Service facility are visited by the health team on a frequent, regular basis. Sick children are taken to the facility for diagnosis and treatment. Small, isolated day schools are served by itinerant physicians and nurses, also on a regular schedule. Sick children are transferred to the nearest hospital or health center.

Boarding schools present special problems. Many have large enrollments, often with children far away from their home environment, e.g., Chemawa, Oregon, with Alaskan children, and Intermountain, Utah with Navajo children. This dispersion creates emotional and behavioral problems that increase the need for the mental health components in child guidance and in addition, place a heavier responsibility on the school staff and members of the health team.

Again, health services vary according to the location and enrollment of the school, the proximity to Indian Health Service facilities and the availability of specialized personnel from other health agencies:

1. In small boarding schools with less than 300 pupils, services are provided on an itinerant basis as in the day schools.
2. In schools with enrollments of 300 to 650 students, the Indian Health Service maintains a small school health center where nursing services are provided on a full-time basis. Medical and dental services usually are provided on an itinerant basis, but a few schools have a full-size dental team.
3. In schools with more than 650 pupils, a larger school health center is maintained with full-time or part-time physicians and dentists, and full-time nurses and other clinical personnel. Some of the health centers have laboratory and X-ray facilities, and a small number of beds where children can be kept for observation pending diagnosis. If a child requires hospital care, he is transferred to the nearest hospital, otherwise he is cared for in the dormitory. In seven large boarding schools where there is no Indian Health Service hospital close to the school, a more elaborate health center is provided with 10 to 20 beds available for 24-hour care of children with minor illnesses or for those needing observation pending diagnosis. If the child requires hospital care he is transferred to the nearest hospital.

During fiscal year 1967, hospitalizations for school children numbered 16,000 and services provided by the 21 Indian Health Service School Health Centers totalled 55,000.

Providing the needed dental care within the limited resources available has required the Indian Health Service to establish a priority system for services. Outside of emergencies preschool children receive primary attention, followed by a decreasing priority as age increases. Preventive and restorative services are emphasized over replacement services. Some 49,960 children ages five through 19 are provided services. Since 1961 a steady decrease in the number of decayed teeth and an increase in the number of filled teeth have been recorded, indicating progress made. Programs to prevent decay have emphasized topical application of fluoride and fluoridation of community water supplies. Of all patients examined, 19 percent are provided fluoride treatment, and all new community systems installed are fluoridated if the need is indicated. In fiscal year 1968, approximately 63 percent of all decayed teeth requiring restoration in the 5–19 age group were filled and approximately 25 percent of the group's prosthetic needs were met.

Emotional problems and behavioral disorders are frequent among Indian children. Among Indians, the conditions that predispose to emotional and mental instability are aggravated by the Indian's struggle for recognition and achievement of self-sufficiency in a new social set-up. The transition from the old and secure Indian culture to the competitive and aggressive "anglo" society often presents unsurmountable obstacles to the Indian mind. Educators and members of the health team have to overcome many diverse and serious problems associated with changes in cultural patterns. There is increasing need for the mental health component in child guidance and counseling, and for the development of new and effective methods to prevent further trauma to the growing child.

Although limited psychiatric services have always been available for Indian and Alaska Native patients through contract agreements made by the Indian Health Service, it is only within the last several years that the program has been able to institute its own services. Beginning with a pilot mental health project on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in the fall of 1965, the Service the next year added a mental health team to the Anchorage, Alaska Area staff and subsequently assigned psychiatrists to three other areas—Phoenix, Albuquerque and Window Rock. The Billings Indian Health Area has arrangements with the University of Colorado for consultative and therapeutic assistance and the Portland Area is cooperating with the National Institute of Mental Health on a program which evolved as a result of a suicide problem among young adults.

Regularly scheduled psychiatric consultations are held under Indian Health Service sponsorship at the majority of larger Indian boarding schools and plans have been made for expanding the mental health program as resources become available. The Indian Health Service has found that the approach of putting a mental health team into an Area to work with the health staff already on duty is highly successful. Such a team expands the regular staff's ablity to meet mental health needs as an integral part of the total health program, at the same time that data is gathered and correlated to improve mental health programs throughout the Service.

Educational problems of Indian and Alaska Native children must be considered within the framework of the total environment of which the youngsters are a part. Their physical health and psychological adjustment are intertwined with the whole complexity of living in a different culture, socially and economically removed from most other American citizens. There are, however, definite health program needs relating to school children and the educational process that we can identify:

1. Preenrollment physical examinations should be expanded and before a child enters school, all defects or handicapping conditions which can be corrected (vision, hearing, etc.) should be taken care of.
2. There should be more health examinations during a child's school life. In addition to preenrollment, children should be examined during the 4th, 7th and 11th grades.
3. The mental health program in BIA schools, particularly boarding schools should be expanded, and mental health specialists added to staffs of Indian Health Service health centers.
4. More health education material should be developed and used in the school curriculum to promote and encourage better health practices among both children and parents.
5. Special educational services should be provided for children with physical, emotional or intellectual handicaps.

Improving the Indian's health status in general is of course a continuing need. One of the new Indian Health Service efforts which should be of considerable help in bettering the health of school children and all Indian people, is the community health representative program.

These are Indian people who are selected by their Tribal governing body, formally trained by the Indian Health Service and serve under an Indian Health Service contract as their Tribes' health leaders in working with Indian Health Service health professionals, to conduct a coordinated community health program directed toward a better understanding of good physical and mental health practices, nutrition, personal hygiene, home nursing, environmental health, first aid and accident prevention. In addition, working on their own reservations and in their own villages, they compensate to some extent for the insufficient supply of those professional personnel.

The use of community health representatives has been found to be a most effective means of meeting the health needs of the populations served. Community health representatives, because of their understanding of the Indian language and culture, and their being of like origin, have fewer obstacles to overcome than does the non-Indian in developing a rapport with the people they serve. They therefore are invaluable links between the health professional and the Indian people.

The Indian Health Service is also training and employing Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts in Alaska in the capacity of village health aides. These aides perform more therapeutic services than do the Indian Community Health Representatives, for the isolation of Alaskan villages and the difficulties of transportation to health facilities, impose the need for aides to perform medical services. This is done under direction of the physician via short wave radio, and represents one more way in which the Indian Health Service hopes to raise the health status of Indians and Alaska Natives to the highest possible level.

HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG INDIAN CHILDREN

The premature infant birth rate among Indians is comparable to that of the United States.

Studies show no increase in congenital malformations with the exception of a higher incidence of cleft palate and harelip and congenital hip syndrome. A recent study of a selected popuation of Navajo shows an incidence of cleft palate and harelip of 2.5/1000 newborns (twice that of the U.S. in general). Selected studies among the Navajo indicated an incidence of congenital hip dislocation of 9/1000 live births.

The neonatal death rate is comparable to that of the general population. However, from one month to one year of age the death rate changes to four times that of the general population. Most of these deaths are due to respiratory and diarrheal diseases associated with the prevailing low socio-economic conditions.

Major handicapping conditions among the 255,000 preschool and school age children are in the auditory and visual areas:

1. Selected studies among the Navajo indicate that 7.6% of 45,500 Navajo school children suffer from conductive deafness due to otitis media. It is estimated from these studies that approximately 3,000 Navajo children need ear surgery and we are doing about 250 per year.
2. 1,603 cases of otitis media were reported among children in Albuquerque Area. 245 of the children had severe hearing problems (resulting from otitis media) that necessitated surgery and hearing aids.
3. Selective studies indicated hearing impairment of 26 decibels or more among 31% of Alaska Native children aged 3–5. In Chemawa school, with most of the students from Alaska, hearing impairment has been as high as 40%.
4. Of 6,273 Navajo school children found to need glasses, 43% received them, leaving an unmet need of 57%.
5. Of 2,444 Albuquerque school children examined in 1968, 1,345 needed and received glasses and 76 were treated for eye pathology. One-third of Zuni school children examined have vision disabilities.
6. Selective studies among Native school children in Alaska indicated that approximatly 50% need glasses.
7. Of a total of 13,104 students in the Aberdeen Area, 2,802 have vision defects, of which 1,830 were provided glasses.
8. During 1968, 31,000 Indian school children in the Southwest were examined for trachoma and 2,450 were found positive (7.9%). At the end of F.Y. 1968, the prevalence rate of trachoma, all ages, in the Southwest Indians was 8,000/100,000.

Gross primary malnutrition such as kwashiorkor, marasmus and severe vitamin deficiency of the beriberi and pellagra type are not frequent, but they occur in several groups, particularly among Navajos and other Arizona Indian tribes. Mild and moderate primary or secondary nutritional deficiencies are relatively common and often associated with and contributing to the severity of other diseases:

1. A study of 78 children (0–3 years of age) from Kodiak Island, Alaska showed an average hemoglobin of 10.3 gm. %. Of 52 children with hemoglobin equal to or less than 10.5 gm. %, 32 (61.5%) had more than two documented episodes of otitis media, pneumonia, or diarrhea requiring hospitalization compared with six out of 26 (23.1%) with hemoglobin above 10.5 gm. %.
2. Of patient discharges from Navajo hospitals in FY 1966, 15% of infants, 10% of children (1–4 years), and 10% of pregnant women had iron deficiency anemia.
3. Gastroenteritis, which causes a death rate among Indians four times that of the general population, has significant nutritional implications.
4. Gall bladder disease, significantly greater among Indians than Caucasians, increases from 2% in 15–24 year old females to 30% in 25–34 year old females as revealed by a review of patient records in the Sacaton Indian Hospital.
5. Selected studies of diabetes among Oklahoma Indians reflect a rate of 37/1000 population, three times the 12.4 rate for the nation.
6. Among 676 discharges in 0–4 age group from Tuba City Hospital, there were reported: 44 cases of malnutrition, 38 cases of iron deficiency anemia, 8 Kawashiorkor, and 13 marasmus.

Mental problems

Emotional problems and behavioral disorders are frequent among Indian children. These are aggravated by their struggle for recognition and achievement:

1. Of 213,000 Indians residing in Arizona, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, and South Dakota, an average of 292 Indians have been admitted to State mental hospitals each year during the past few years.
2. Injuries resulting from use of firearms, assault and intentionally self-inflicted wounds represent 19.6% of total injuries reported throughout the Indian Health Service.
3. While the overall suicide rate is approximately that of the national average, the rate is much higher among some groups. A recent 7-year study showed 15 suicides on the Ft. Hall reservation, which represents a rate 9 times the national average. Most of these were among teenagers and young adults.
4. On the Blackfeet reservation 70% of all juvenile crimes are associated with alcohol. On the Pine Ridge reservation 84% of boys and 76% of girls in high school claim they drank, 37% claiming they drank regularly.

Dental problems

In 1969 the dental program is responsible for 123,471 children 6 through 17 years of age. This population group requires 417,390 dental restoration and 4,939 dentures, 2,469 of these children need peridontal treatment and 16,051 need orthodontic care. Approximately 58 percent of the required restorative services, 25 percent of the required periodontal services, 8 percent of the required orthodontic services, and 24 percent of prosthetic services will be provided for this population group in 1969.

MEMORANDUM FROM PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

I. NUTRITION PROBLEMS AMONG AMERICAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES

The following categories include nutrition problems per se and nutrition related illnesses and health conditions:

1. Nutritional (iron deficiency) anemia

Nutritional anemia is widespread among the Indian and Alaska Native population with a particularly high incidence among infants and women of childbearing age. Blood hemoglobin and hematocrit levels provide one important index of the general health status of a population or of specific groups within a population:

a. A review was made in 1966 of hemoglobins of Sioux women in their third trimester of pregnancy on four South Dakota reservations. Of this group 29% were found to suffer from marked nutritional anemia (with hemoglobins under 10 grams per 100 milliliters of blood).

b. In a March 1968 hematocrit survey of patients in the Aberdeen Area PHS Division of Indian Health hospitals over 50% of the patients were found to be anemic with more than 6% having severe nutritional anemia.

c. In a December 1967 anemia and infectious illness study of 78 children from birth to three years of age in 6 villages on Kodiak Island, Alaska, the average hemoglobin was 10.3 grams percent. The hemoglobin levels for virtually all of these children fell substantially below expected normal levels for the same age ranges.

d. 1961–62 nutritional status studies of the Blackfeet and Ft. Belknap Indian Reservations in Montana revealed significantly low hemoglobin levels in women in their reproductive years, particularly during pregnacy.

e. Of patient discharges from PHS Navajo Indian Hospitals in F.Y. 1966 15% of the infants, 10% of children 1–4 years, and 10% of pregnant women had iron deficiency anemia.

2. Infectious disease

In order of magnitude under the International Classification of Diseases, Infective and Parasitic Diseases rank second and Diseases of Rispiratory System third as health problems among American Indians and Alaska Natives. The synergism between malnutrition and infection is so well documented that a significant incidence of either points to a concomitant occurrence of the other:

a. In the 1968 Kodiak Island Study (See I.1.c. above) of the possible relationship between anemia and infectious illness in 78 Kodiak Island children it was found that 32 with the most severe anemia had had more than two documented episodes of otitis media, pneumonia, diarrhea or serious upper respiratory infections requiring hospitalization compared with six of those with highest hemoglobin level. Twenty-four of the 32 had respiratory infections only.

3. *Diseases of digestive system*

Diseases in this category rank fifth as a health problem among Indians and Alaska Natives with gastroenteritis, gall bladder disease and dental problems of major import in this group. All these conditions have significant nutrition implications:

a. The death rate for gastroenteritis among Indians and Alaska Natives is about four times that of the general population.

b. Gastroenteric disease was the third leading cause of infant deaths and accounted for 30% of infant mortality in FY 1966 on the Navajo Reservation.

c. A 1962 report of studies of gall bladder disease among the Sioux, Navajo, Pima and other southwestern Indian tribes indicates that the prevalence of gall bladder disease is significantly greater among American Indians than among Caucasians. A review of patient records in the Sacaton Indian Hospital on the Pima Reservation indicates that the frequency of gall bladder disease increases from about 2% in 15–24 year old females to 30% in 25–34 year old females. The frequency in males is lower, reaching a maximum of 18% in the 55–64 year olds.

4. *Allergic, endocrine system, metabolic & nutritional diseases*

This disease category ranks tenth in order of magnitude under the ICD. This rank does not adequately reflect the extent and significance of nutritional problems since it is based on primary diagnosis only:

a. Weight: Significant portions of the Indian and Alaska Native population fall into both extremes in regard to the balance between caloric intake and energy expenditure. Mild to severe obesity has a high incidence, particularly among adults in some tribal groups, while at the same time there is significant underweight in some adult groups as well as in the infant and preschool child. Both of these problems indicate consumption of inadequate or excessive calories but studies of dietary practices suggest insufficient intakes of essential nutrients as well.

1961–62 nutritional status studies on the Blackfeet and Ft. Belknap Indian Reservations in Montana revealed that 30% of the Ft. Belknap adult population and 22% of the Blackfeet adult population fell into the underweight classification of less than 90% of "standard weight" when compared to a normal American population.

b. Diabetes: The reported incidence of diabetes is very high in some Indian groups such as the Choctaws, Cherokees and Pimas.

Among Oklahoma Indians, the Division's known cases of diabetes reflect a rate of 37 per 1,000 population, three times the 12.4 rate for the nation.

The rate is 49.3 for the North Carolina Cherokee Indians and 30.0 for the Mississippi Choctaws.

The prevalence of diabetes among the Pima Indians in Arizona is 15 times that of the U.S. population as a whole. In a 1963 study, 31% of 1145 Pimas studied were found to have diabetes compared with 2% of the nation's total population. The prevalence increases from about 5% in the 5–14 age group to more than 60% in those over 55 years of age.

c. Malnutrition per se: Gross malnutrition such as kwashiorkor, marasmus and severe vitamin deficiencies occurs in several groups, but particularly among Navajos and other Arizona Indian tribes. Mild and moderate nutritional deficiencies are relatively common and constitute a major contributing or complicating factor in a variety of other illnesses and health conditions.

In FY 1966 twenty percent of pediatric admissions to PHS Indian Navajo Hospitals revealed evidence of malnutrition.

Among 676 discharges in the 0–4 years of age group from the PHS Indian Hospital at Tuba City, Arizona July 1, 1967—April 30, 1968 the following nutritional diagnoses were reported:

Malnutrition (unqualified)	44
Iron deficiency anemia	38
Kwashiorkor	8
Pyridoxine deficiency	1
Marasmus (under one year of age)	13

Among 1,591 Tuba City pediatric discharges 5 years and older:

Malnutrition (unqualified)	2
Iron deficiency anemia	44

In the 1961–62 nutritional status studies on the Blackfeet and Ft. Belknap Indian Reservations in Montana it was found that clinical manifestations of nutritional disease were evident from the high incidence of dental caries and of thyroid enlargement, reflecting borderline intakes of iodine particularly during periods of maximum growth and needs during pregnancy and lactation. In significant segments of the population the levels of caloric intake, protein intake, and the dietary supply of calcium, iron, and vitamins A and C were borderline.

In a F.Y. 1967 pilot project in the PHS Indian Health Oklahoma City area the primary or secondary diagnoses related to nutritional diseases were tabulated for 9588 discharges, including 1309 deliveries, from the Oklahoma City Area Indian hospitals:

Iron deficiency anemia	141
Malnutrition (unqualified)	16
Anemia of pregnancy	13
Nutritional maladjustment of infancy	9
Late effects of rickets	1
Osteomalacia	1
Steatorrhea and sprue	1

5. *Infant morbidity and mortality*

The Indian infant death rate is still more than 1½ times that for the general population and that of the Alaska Native, nearly twice as high. The mortality from one month to one year is more than three times that for the general population. Without question inadequate nutrition is a major factor in overall morbidity and mortality of the infant.

II. CURRENT EFFORTS TO MEET NUTRITIONAL PROBLEMS

Nutrition problems are an integral component of the overall socioeconomic problems and physical environment of the Indian and Alaska Native. The lack of sufficient resources to provide nutritionally adequate diets, coupled with lack of understanding of the relationship of food to health and presence of environmental conditions which threaten the safety of food and protection from disease, constitutes the major consideration in resolving nutrition problems.

Education is the most essential tool to combat nutrition problems and is the underlying focus of all Division program efforts related to nutrition. The Division's limited professional nutrition staff extend their knowledge and skills through:

1. Consulting with and training the Division's medical and other paramedical staff who have direct day to day contacts with the Indian in practical, applied nutrition principles geared to food habits and preferences, food and economic resources, and cultural practices of the Indian and Alaska Native.
2. Providing similar consultation and training for the staff of allied agencies.
3. Providing direct nutrition counseling services to the Indian within the limits of available nutrition staff.

Special projects and activities to improve nutritional health:

1. Through recent efforts of the Division's nutrition staff in Alaska, the American Biscuit Company of Seattle has begun enrichment of Pilot Bread and Jersey Creams (Pilot Crackers) with iron, calcium, thiamine, riboflavin and niacin. This will make a significant contribution to the nutritional quality of the diets of substantial numbers of Alaska Natives who consume Pilot Bread regularly.
2. A project proposal currently has been prepared for submission to OEO for funding under the Emergency Food and Medical Services Program. This will be a study of the effect of an adequate milk formula product on a selected group of Navajo Indian children from birth to two years.

3. Division nutritionists in several locations have been successful in obtaining extra allocations of surplus commodities of good nutritional quality for Indians with special needs such as the pregnant and lactating women. Since the use of commodity foods tends to be in direct proportion to the amount of continuing education provided regarding their use, considerable emphasis is given to this area.

4. Because of the prevalence of iron deficiency anemia in infants and young children, iron supplementation of the diet from birth is being stressed through iron fortified formula or milk products, iron enriched cereals and the introduction of iron rich foods at the appropriate time during infancy.

III. NEEDS FOR IMPROVING NUTRITIONAL HEALTH OF THE INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE

1. *Nutritional status studies* (including clinical, biochemical and dietary appraisals) of Indian and Alaska Native groups to identify the nature, extent and location of nutritional problems in order to confirm program needs and establish priorities.

2. Improvement in both the quantity and quality of the food supply available to this population. Methods of accomplishing this might include: [1]

    a. Making *commodity foods* available to a larger proportion of families, increasing the variety and allowances of these foods and liberalizing eligibility requirements.

    b. Extending the *food stamp program* to more areas, simplifying participation policies and procedures as much as possible, and increasing the quantity of stamps provided per dollar on the basis of family size and needs.

    c. Providing additional commodity foods and food stamps to meet medically indicated nutritional needs of individuals.

    d. Promoting and providing assistance with procurement, production and preservation of indigenous food supplies such as game, gardens and native plants.

3. Sufficient nutritionists and dietitians to:

    a. Provide continuing nutrition consultation service for all medical and paramedical staff of the Division and for related staff of allied agencies such as Tribal and Alaska Native Village Councils; the Bureau of Indian Affairs; OEO; State and Local Departments of Health. Education and Welfare; and other agencies of the Public Health Service and Department of HEW.

    b. Provide direct nutrition counseling for hospital inpatients and outpatients and those seen in field clinics.

    c. Train Indian and Alaska Natives as nutrition aides and dietary aides to extend the skills of the nutritionist and dietitian in the Division's hospital and field health program.

    d. Participate actively in the nutrition training of Indian and Alaska Native community health aides.

    e. Strengthen the dietary departments in Division hospitals so that food service itself will exert maximum influence as a teaching tool in conjunction with planned counseling by staff.

    f. Permit maximum attention to preventive nutrition education as well as to education as part of the prompt treatment of diagnosed or identified nutrition problems.

STATEMENT RE COMMODITY FOODS AND FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Division of Indian Health has no means of issuing food directly to Indians and Alaska Natives who may be in need of it. However, nutrition education efforts are focused on encouraging the best utilization possible of the food available to the beneficiary population. This includes wise spending of the food dollar to obtain foods of the highest nutritional level as well as making use of such food resources as indigenous plants, game and fish.

The distribution of Government donated foods (commodities) varies considerably among states and counties depending on policies of the responsible agency and eligibility qualifications. Where distribution policies are liberal and broad the majority of Indians on many reservations would be eligible for the donated foods program. Where this is accompanied by practical and continuing education utilization of donated foods is very high and they make a substantial contribution to the quantity and quality of the diet. Where distribution and eligibility policies are restricted these foods may be available only to selected individuals in the family unit such as a child for whom ADC is provided or where a member of the family is receiving old age assistance. The amount of food provided for one person in cases like this makes a very small contribution to the total family diet.

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[1] See Attachment re Commodity Foods and Food Stamp Program.

In any case, even with commodities distributed to the majority of the population such as occurs on some reservations where the tribe handles the program it is reported that the commodities suffice for only about half of the time interval between distribution dates. Where commodities are available the Division has made efforts to obtain supplemental supplies for specific family members with increased nutritional needs such as prenatals.

The Food Stamp Program, while providing a much wider potential variety of foods, presents some problems with many of our families. It is a more sophisticated program than donated foods and requirse a cash outlay for stamps which is not always accessible. Here again the success of the Food Stamp Program in improving nutritional health depends in a large measure on the amount of educational service available to the participants.

Division staff encourage the participation of all day school children in the School Lunch Program where it is available. Attention is given to securing free school lunches for Indian children who cannot afford to pay for them or in some cases to find some other means of financing the school lunch for specific children.

In a nutshell, because the Division of Indian Health is engaged in a program of health services, not in food distribution, the major thrust in correcting nutritional problems or improving the health of the Indian and Alaska Native is centered around education geared toward the most effective and efficient utilization of available food resources as well as the production of food itself through gardening particularly.

National Education Association,
Washington, D.C., March 25, 1969.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy: The National Education Association, representing some two million members of the National and State education associations, respectfully proposes the following matters to the Indian Education Subcommittee for consideration in preparing legislation to improve the educational opportunities for American children of Indian descent:

1. Transfer all Indian education programs, including preschool elementary and secondary, higher, vocational, and adult education to the U.S. Office of Education. Present programs of assistance to public schools enrolling Indians, such as the Johnson-O'Malley funds, as well as all present educational activities and facilities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, should be transferred to the U.S. Office of Education for administration and control. The responsibility for Indian education of all types should be totally removed from the domination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Directors and Reservation Superintendents.
2. Provide for establishment of local school boards, elected by the tribes and composed of Indian adults to have such control as is appropriate over policies under which the various individual federal schools operate.
3. Provide for coordination of the programs in the federal schools with those operated by the various public school systems in the states in which the federal schools are located.
4. Provide that non-Indian children may attend federal schools under agreements and proper fiscal arrangements with the states and local school districts.
5. Provide additional special programs of preservice and inservice teacher education for persons interested in teaching Indian children in federal, public, or private non-profit schools. This effort should include contracts with institutions of higher education as well as scholarships and fellowships for individuals. People of Indian blood should be given first preference for such stipend programs.

We also urge that the present practice of including federally schooled Indian pupils under various other federal education acts such as Titles I, II, and III of ESEA be discontinued. This practice gives the illusion of solving the Indian education problem without, in fact, having any appreciable impact on the situation.

We hope these recommendations will become part of the Subcommittee record. We also look forward to testifying before your Committee after specific legislation is introduced later this year.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. LUMLEY,
Assistant Executive Secretary for Legislation and Federal Relations.

MESQUAKIE—BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has for some time been trying to phase out its operation of the Sac and Fox Day School in Tama, Iowa, and transfer the Mesquakie Indian students to the South Tama County Community School District. Grade levels in a Day School on the settlement have been decreased from an original 1–8 structure to the present 1–4 arrangement.

Following several meetings, it was announced in October 1967 that all Indian students at the Settlement Day School would be transferred to South Tama Public Schools by the fall of 1968. Several more meetings followed, and the BIA reports that no opposition to the transfer was voiced.

But in June 1968 Mesquakies began questioning the transfer, and in July 1968 the tribal council went on record as opposing the closing of the settlement school. At this time, grades 1–5 were located in the Settlement Day school and from 6th grade on Mesquakie students attended public schools.

In September, 1968 after the Mesquakies threatened a boycott of public school, District Judge Edward McManus ordered that the Indian Day School be reopened by October 31 for grades 1–4 and that attorneys for the Mesquakies and for the defendants, the BIA and the South Tama County School District, submit proposals for resolution of the problem by February 28.

In November, the BIA filed a motion to dismiss the case, maintaining the court couldn't issue an injunction against a governmental body such as BIA but in February the Judge denied the motion.

By February 28, 1969 the Mesquakies had filed a plan calling for a kindergarten through ninth grade school over which they would have complete control. Instructors would be familiar with Indian culture, and both Mesquakie culture and language would be part of the curriculum. The school would be funded by BIA through a contract with the tribe.

BIA's plan called for continuation of the Sac and Fox Day School as "an attendance center" for grades 1–4 during 1969–70 with all the students transferring to the public school beginning with the 1970–71 school year. The tribal council voiced its opposition to this proposal. The BIA also reported that any program beyond the third-grade level at the Settlement school would necessitate construction of additional classrooms, and that money for such a project was not available.

The Judge has accepted the two "resolutions" and a preliminary pretrial proceedings report will be filed May 19, 1969. Following this, a day will be set for a final pretrial conference, and if a trial will be necessary the court will set a date at that time.

Meanwhile, the Mesquakies have engaged the support of the American Friends Service Committee out of Des Moines (John Hedges is the contact there), and the committee is presently seeking teachers to teach in the Mesquakies' K–9 school.

The South Tama County School District has terminated its contract with the BIA effective July 1, but has left itself open to renegotiate a contract later. Three of the four members of the school district's central office staff, including the superintendent, have submitted their resignations. The superintendent leaves June 15 and two staff members May 9 and May 23.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
September 10, 1968.

Mr. ROBERT BENNETT,
Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Department of Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BENNETT: I have received an urgent telegram from Columbus Keshna, Chairman of the Mesquakie Tribal Council, Tama, Iowa. The telegram states:

"Our community school is being taken away by the BIA without our consent. The BIA did not consult with us before closing the school. We urge you to intercede in the name of justice for the children."

I am also in receipt of an article in the Des Moines Sunday Register of July 21, 1968 which raises a number of questions about the closing of the Mesquakie school.

I am writing to request a full description of events leading up to the actual decision, the decision-making process, and what has happened as a result. In addition, I would appreciate answers to the following questions:

1. How long has the BIA been providing full or partial financial support for the education of the Mesquakie children? How has the nature of this support changed?
2. What criteria were applied in determining whether or not the school should be closed? Have any studies been made of the Mesquakie school in terms of its strengths, weaknesses and general educational performance? Did the tribe initiate the request for closing the school? What was the nature and extent of the tribal participation in making the decision to close the school?
3. Have any studies been conducted of the advantages of the schools to which the Mesquakie children would be bussed. Have any studies been made on data accumulated about the success or failure of Mesquakie children after they graduate from their own school and attend public junior and senior high schools?
4. What evidence is available to support the contention that the children will prosper educationally by being split into three small groups and bussed to three different schools where they will constitute a small minority of the student population?
5. What is the general attitude of the surrounding Iowa communities to the Mesquakie Indians and the general attitudes of the Indians toward the white communities? Is discrimination, subtle or overt, a problem in this relationship? If so, what effect might this have on the chldren?
6. How have the public schools to which the children are to be transferred prepared to meet their special needs and cope with cultural and social differences? Have the teachers received specialized training? Have the teachers participated in or observed the Mesquakie school? Has any sort of liaison committee been established between the tribe and the public school officials? Have any adaptations in curriculum been made? Is there any material available on the cultural background and history of the Indian children? Have arrangements been made for active Indian parental involvement in the school? Have the Indian parents met and held discussions with the public school teachers and principals?
7. What are the compartive financial advantages for the federal government in sending the Indian children to the public schools? Please provide us with full cost data on this matter.

Let me assure you that I consider this to be a matter of considerable importance. First, because the administrative policy and procedures in regard to the transfer of responsibility from B.I.A. to public school districts should be crystal clear and adhered to, and if violated should provide procedures for redress. Secondly, the Subcommittee has become painfully aware of the failure of far too many public schools in providing an effective education for Indian children.

I would appreciate hearing from you in this regard at the earliest possible time.

Sincerely,

WAYNE MORSE,
Chairman.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have carefully considered your letter of September 10 and have the following comments to make regarding the transfer of several Mesquakie Indian children from the Sac and Fox Bureau school to the South Tama Public School District.

The relationship of the Mesquakie Indians to the educational program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Tama, Iowa, extends over a period of more than 88 years. Early history reflects little interest or participation of the people in the educational programs; however, several events in recent years reflect an increased interest in becoming more involved in the decision-making process governing their welfare.

An example of this growing interest can be found by a review of meetings with Mesquakie Indians regarding the proposal to transfer the children from the Sac and Fox Day School operated by the Bureau to the nearby public schools.

On March 10–11, 1966, the Assistant Area Director (Education) met with the Mesquakie Tribal Council regarding a proposal to utilize $200,000 of Public Law 81–815 funds to construct an additional educational facility at the South Tama School District. Over 75 percent of Mesquakie children attend South Tama schools. The Council passed a Resolution favoring the proposal and sent a copy of this Resolution to Representative Banstra of the United States Congress requesting his support.

On February 1–2, 1967, the Assistant Area Director (Education) met with the Tribal Council and approximately 20 people from the community regarding transfer of students of the Sac and Fox School to the South Tama School District. A public announcement of the proposed transfer was made at the meeting. The announcement was published in the newspapers in the Tama and Toledo areas. The people did not oppose the proposal but did inquire whether their Settlement land would be taxed because of the closing. They were assured that there was no relationship between this action and their land becoming taxable.

On March 9, 1967, the Assistant Area Director (Education) met with the Mesquakie Tribal Council and members of the community regarding developing an Indian Educational Advisory Committee. The objectives of this Committee were: (1) To establish effective communications with the South Tama School District; (2) to support education improvements for Indian students; (3) to help in the planning of the educational curriculum; and (4) to discuss present and future school policies. The transfer of educational responsibilities was discussed in detail at that meeting and some of the parents spoke favorably for it. The Committee was appointed on February 22, 1968. The Tribal Secretary personally delivered an announcement regarding the Committee to every mailbox in the community.

On October 24, 1967, another meeting was held with the Mesquakie people regarding the transfer of students to the public school by the Fall of 1968. The meeting was covered by an editor from the local newspaper and an article regarding the proposal was published on October 26, 1967, in the *Toledo Chronicle*. There were no obvious objections to the proposed transfer at the meeting.

On May 12, 1968, another meeting was held with the people. Following this meeting, it was decided to contact parents of the community regarding their feeling toward the proposed transfer. Several contacts were made which revealed no serious objection to such a transfer. The general consensus of the survey was that the parents did not feel it made much difference which school their children attended—the Bureau or the public school. A comment made by the Chairman of the Mesquakie Tribal Council at the meeting was that he would not be reluctant to the transfer if the children could all go to the same educational center. Bus routes were also discussed.

A June 2, 1968, meeting was scheduled to finalize the transfer of the children to the public schools. At this time there was some opposition expressed regarding the plan.

On July 2, 1968, a letter from the Area Director authorizing the transfer was given to the Tribal Chairman and the Superintendent of the South Tama School.

On July 19, 1968, a meeting was called for the purpose of informing the Mesquakie people of a change of personnel in the Tama field office. However, the people used the meeting to object to the closing of the Sac and Fox Day School.

The Mesquakie Tribal Council held a special meeting on July 26, 1968. At that meeting the Council went on recerd in the form of a motion to never agree to the closing of the school.

Comments on the questions raised in your letter are as follows:

Question 1

The Bureau has been providing an educational program for the Mesquakie people since 1880, a period of 88 years.

The first educational program was a one-teacher day school. Later two boarding schools were erected—one for Sac children, and the other for Fox children. Sac children later joined the Fox children at one boarding school. The Bureau provided full support for the children attending the Sac and Fox school up to 1967–68 school year. Since 1944, effort has been made to point out the advantages of public school education. The transfer of upper grades, one grade at a time, to the public school over several years reduced the enrollment in the Sac and Fox school last year to 56 students in grades 1–5.

The Community School District of South Tama County assumed the responsibility for providing educational services to Indian students attending the Sac and Fox school during the 1967–68 school year, under a contract agreement. The South Tama County District provided the teaching staff for 56 Indian students attending the Bureau school. Plans for the 1968–69 school year are to bus the children into South Tama County public schools instead of transporting them to the Bureau school. The bus routes for all Indian students attending South Tama schools will be shorter than they have been prior to this time. The public school in South Tama enrolls 1,300 students, has well-equipped library facilities, counselors, athletic and drama programs, and can handle a more adequate educational program. The public school is prepared to serve the remaining 56 students, in addition to the 150 or more already attending the South Tama County schools.

The Johnson-O'Malley program has assisted Indian children attending the South Tama School District in the areas which enroll Mesquakie Indian children since 1961. Public Law 81–874 funds have also been made available to the District except for a brief period. We have no available records of the funds made available to support Indian enrollment prior to 1960. This program allotment has increased with the number of Indian children attending.

Question 2

The criteria used for initiating plans for the transfer of the Mesquakie children to the public school are in keeping with the overall policy of the Bureau to transfer the responsibility for the education of Indian children to public schools whenever feasible and *when it is in the best interest of the people*. Who determines this?

Strong consideration was given to the fact that a progressive number of Mesquakie children in the upper grades and high school were attending public school with no serious objections from the people. To assist in the final year of transition, the Sac and Fox Day School was operated under contract with the South Tama Public School District during the 1967–68 school year, using their teachers and supervision in carrying out a public school program for the children in grades 1–5 at the Sac and Fox school. It was felt that it did not follow sound educational practice to operate three classrooms for 56 students from the first through the fifth grades on the Sac and Fox settlement. More adequate educational facilities, staff and programs were available at the nearby South Tama public schools and they were ready to assume the responsibility of educating the Mesquakie children.

There have been no formal studies made of the Mesquakie school children but their general performance and the results of yearly achievement tests has been disappointing. Sav and Fox students who enter the Tama public schools at the sixth and seventh prades score substantially lower than those who began their education at the public school. The students who enter the public school as first-graders remain in school longer.

We have never advocated the closing of the Bureau school at Tama. Our interest has always been in the transfer of the children to a public school. We hope the school can continue to serve the Indians in many areas, including preschool and adult education programs.

The Tribe did not initiate the request for closing the school, but did not object to the transfer of the children to the South Tama schools until the meeting of July 19, 1968. The Tribal Council's Resolution to support construction of public school facilities to accommodate 200 of their children would certainly indicate their interest in the transfer of all their children to the South Tama schools.

Question 3

Iowa public schools are operated under an effective, accredited system which is fully recognized professionally. In addition, the Community School District of South Tama County is prepared to assume the responsibility for educating the Mesquakie children. For many years the District has enrolled approximately 75 percent of the Mesquakie Indian children in its schools and the teachers of these children have had considerable experience in working with them.

There are many advantages of attending the public schools of the South Tama District over the smaller, Bureau Sac and Fox Day School. The larger, modern public school facilities offer a better learning environment, better teachers, an integration factor, and the latest equipment and facilities. Through the various contacts with new students, teachers, and community, *Mesquakie pupils will be better prepared to become a part of the larger society.*

Records indicate that Mesquakie students who have attended public schools from kindergarten on, score better on achievement tests, have better attendance records, and remain in school longer than those who begin their education in the Sac and Fox Day School.

Question 4

The achievement of any specified racial balance was not a consideration in deciding upon three attendance centers for the Mesquakie children. The considerations were: A desire of parents for a particular school: parents' requests to keep all children of the same family in the same school; space available; and the distance between home and school. Insofar as possible, the District responded to this request.

Question 5

The general attitude between the community and the Mesquakie people is typical of some Indian communities located near urban centers. It is the opinion of the officer in charge that the Indian people get along as well as, if not better, with the non-Indian people in the area than people in similar situations in the general population. There has been no major problems in this respect, but there is some feeling both ways. Mesquakie adults are known and respected for their good work record in employment in towns as far as 50 miles distant from their Settlement.

Question 6.

It is recognized that some forms of discrimination exist in communities where minority groups reside, and the Mesquakie people are no exception. It is the opinion of those working with the Indian people and the public schools that this is not a major factor in their relationship. We recognize that where discrimination exists, the learning of the students will be affected. Little, if any, discrimination exists in the elementary grades but becomes noticeable in the junior and senior high school levels. This supports our contention that discrimination in schools is not a serious problem when children are integrated at the primary level. A review of the high school extracurricular program reveals that the Mesquakie youth are active in all school activities. Boys are represented on several athletic teams. A Mesquakie girl is working in the office of the school superintendent.

As a regular part of the inservice training of teachers and the administration, a workshop specially geared to receiving the additional Mesquakie children was conducted prior to the opening of school. This included an informative address by the school superintendent. All the professional services for the Mesquakie children last year were provided by the district.

A liaison person worked diligently last year to help improve relationships between parents, children, teachers, and the school administration. During part of the school year, an Indian parent served as a link between the public school and the community.

For this school year, a coordinator position is proposed to work with the people and to involve them further in school visits, teacher-parent conferences, attendance at board meetings, and more active participation in the Parent-Teacher Associations. It is recommended that the person selected for the position be a Mesquakie Indian. In February of this year, the Tribe appointed an Indian Education Advisory Committee to represent the interests of the people in their relationships with the public schools.

Special education is available to disadvantaged children, but no special curriculum is being offered the Mesquakie Indian students at the South Tama schools. *Teachers are made aware of special needs of Indian students.*

As mentioned previously in this letter, the public schools are equipped with modern libraries, counselors, athletic and drama programs, and designed to give the best possible education to students. Indian culture and history are taught only as a part of the State social studies curriculum. The school library contains many references to Indian history and culture. It is hoped that the Indian Education Advisory Committee and the school coordinator will stimulate further interest in Indian culture and values. Hopefully, units in Indian history and government will be given a more prominent place in the school's social study curriculum.

There have been no special meetings scheduled for Indian parents and public school teachers and principals; however, Mesquakie parents are encouraged to visit the public school enrolling their children and attend the regular board and parent-teacher meetings. Several Mesquakie parents have been active in these meetings over the years.

Question 7.

Financial consideration was not a controlling factor in the transfer of all the children. Johnson-O'Malley Public Law 81–874 funds are allocated to the district to meet per capita costs. *Funds are also available to provide for the special needs of Indian children.*

When local enrollment and circumstances at a Bureau school make separate education no longer preferable or viable, transfer to a public school needs to be implemented. This can never be done without initial trauma because that is what results from breaking with the familiar and the traditional. After transfer this will gradually become the accepted status. The Mesquakie Indian people, the Bureau personnel, and public school officials have labored many years together to effect a harmonious transfer over a planned period of time.

We appreciate your warm concern and sympathy for the Indian people and hope that you will continue your interest in their rights and welfare.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES N. ZELLERS,
Assistant Commissioner (Education).

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.,
Philadelphia, Pa., September 20, 1968.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are informed by the Mesquakie Tribal Council, of Tama, Iowa, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is moving to close down the community school run by the Bureau and transfer Mesquakie school children to the local public schools, although tribal consent has not been obtained for this move. The American Friends Service Committee fully supports the position of the Mesquakie Tribal Council that the school should not be terminated without tribal consent, and we urge you, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, to use your influence to see that the situation is corrected and that the principle of tribal consent not be violated in future transfers of Indian children into public school systems.

Although we understand that the process of transfer is already fairly far advanced, we urge that a moratorium be allowed and the Bureau of Indian Affairs school continued in operation, to allow for procedures recognizing the principle of tribal consent. A tribal referendum would be the fairest way of determining the wishes of the tribal group as a whole. If a tribal referendum should endorse retention of the Bureau of Indian Affairs school, then we would urge that the transfer to the public school system not be made and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs continue to operate the community school for the Mesquakie people.

In your work on the Subcommittee on Indian Education, I am sure you have become familiar with the many problems Indian children have in public schools and the difficulties their parents often have in relating to schools controlled by non-Indians and geographically and socially distant from the Indian community. Such problems are only exaggerated by failure to respect the right of the Indian community to participate in basic decisions concerning the governance of the schools serving their children. The American Friends Service Committee has maintained close relationships with the Mesquakie Tribe for a period of some three years, supporting their Pow-Wow Committee with summer work camps in 1966 and again in 1968. During this period we have been made aware of the attachment of members of the Mesquakie community to their school. It is virtually the only institution available for general community use.

We feel their wishes should be respected concerning retention of the Bureau school or transfer to the public school system. We urge you to uphold their right to express their wishes and have them respected.

Sincerely,

PAM COE,
National Representative,
American Indian Program.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT,
Cedar Rapids, Iowa. November 12, 1968.

Re: Sac and Fox Tribe, et al., v. the South Tama County Community School District, et al. Civil No. 68-C-39-CR

Mr. ADRIAN L. PARMETER,
Staff Director, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PARAMETER: In reply to your letter of October 25, 1968, enclosed is a copy of the Order of September 30, 1968, entered pursuant to agreement of counsel at the pre-trial conference. Because of the Agreement reached at the conference in chambers, there was no hearing in open court. You will note from the Order that no further proceedings are anticipated in the case until early next year.

I am directing the clerk of court to send you copies of any subsequent orders entered.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD J. MCMANUS.

Enclosure

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF IOWA, CEDAR RAPIDS DIVISION

Pursuant to Rule 16, Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and pre-trial conference in the above matter held in the Judge's chambers, United States Courthouse, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on September 30, 1968, counsel for all parties being present, it is

Ordered

1. The parties hereto agree and stipulate that as soon as practical but not later than Thursday, October 31, 1968, the Indian Day School on the Tama Indian Settlement in Tama County, Iowa, shall be opened and operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in accordance with the applicable statutes to provide education for the Indian children residing on the settlement for grades one through four inclusive for the 1968-1969 school year.
2. That by not later than Friday, February 28, 1969, counsel for the parties shall prepare and submit to the court a proposed plan for the final resolution of the problem of furnishing education for the Indian children on the Tama Indian Settlement.
3. This pre-trial conference is continued until Monday, March 3, 1969, at 9:30 a.m.

September 30, 1968.

EDWARD J. MCMANUS,
U.S. District Judge.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF IOWA, CEDAR RAPIDS DIVISION

This matter is before the court on defendant United States of America, Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs' (United States) Motion to Dismiss filed November 18, 1968, and plaintiff's resistance thereto. Argument having been heard, the motion was submitted January 16, 1969.

In this action, plaintiff Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa (Sac and Fox Tribe) seeks equitable relief in the nature of a mandatory injunction against the United States requiring its Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs to reopen the Indian Day School for grades one to five on the Tama Indian Settlement in Tama County, Iowa, for the 1968–1969 school year.

In its complaint, the Sac and Fox Tribe alleges that by virtue of the *Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, 1842*, and subsequently enacted federal statutes, the United States is obliged to provide educational facilities for the Indian children of school age residing on the Settlement, and has operated a school on the Settlement continuously for many years until September 1, 1968. It further alleges that the closing of the school by defendant was arbitrary, capricious and without the consent of plaintiff causing it great and irreparable injury.

The basis of defendant's motion is that it has sovereign immunity from this type of suit and therefore this court is without jurisdiction.

It is elementary that motions to dismiss are sparingly granted and in passing on such a motion that the court accepts well pleaded allegations in a light most favorable to plaintiff. 1A Barron & Holtzoff § 350. The United States is the guardian of Indians and occupies a trust relationship in carrying out its obligations under its treaties with them. 41 Am. Jur. 2d. Indians, § 10 at 839; 42 C.J.S. Indians, § 20 at 672. Its conduct toward its ward is judged by the most exacting fiduciary standards. *Seminole Nation* v. *United States*, 316 U.S. 286 (1941). Treaties with Indian tribes are construed in a light most favorable to the Indians and their terms are carried out in accordance with the meaning as understood by the Indians and in a spirit consistent with the obligation of our government to protect the interests of a dependent people. *Tulee* v. *Washington*, 315 U.S. 681 (1942). The rights and duties of Indian children with respect to education are largely governed by treaty and statutory provisions. 42 C.J.S. Indians, § 23 at 680; 41 Am.Jur.2d Indians, § 18 at 843; 25 U.S.C. § 271 et seq.

Generally, claims of Indian tribes against the United States arising under a federal treaty or law fall within the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims. 28 U.S.C. § 1505. However, that court appears to have no jurisdiction where the tribe seeks specific equitable relief. *Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians v. United States*, 174 Ct. Cl. 483, 488 (1966).

An analysis of plaintiffs complaint reveals that essentially, plaintiff seeks to require the Department of the Interior through its employees in the Bureau of Indian Affairs to perform educational duties owed to the plaintiff pursuant to the Treaty of 1842 and federal statutes which it arbitrarily and capriciously refused to do. This court is of the view that it has jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1361 [1] as well as § 1362 which provides:

> The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions, brought by any Indian tribe or band with a governing body duly recognized by the Secretary of the Interior, wherein the matter in controversy arises under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the Unied States.

While this latter jurisdictional statute is of recent origin (1966) and no cases have been found construing its application to the question now pending before this court, it would seem literally applicable and particularly so in view of its legislative history. In its statement accompanying House Report No. 2040 the Department of the Interior noted:

> The Department therefore observed that particularly as to this class of cases it is appropriate that the actions be brought in a U.S. district court. In its statement to the Senate committee, that Department referred to the unique governmental status of Indian tribes and the unique relationship which exists between them and the Federal Government. This is a relationship often affected by treaties and the Department of the Interior indicated that a tribe's desire to have a Federal forum for matters based upon Federal ques-

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[1] "The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any action in the nature of mandamus to compel an officer or employee of the United States or any agency thereof to perform a duty owed to the plaintiff."

tions is justified. Vol. 2, United States Code Congressional and Administrative News, 89th Congress 2nd Session 1966 at 3146.

It is therefore *ORDERED:*

Defendant United States' Motion to Dismiss filed November 18, 1968, is denied.

February 18, 1969.

EDWARD J. MCMANUS,
U.S. District Judge.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
U.S. NATIONAL MUSEUM,
Washington, D.C., February 13, 1969.

MR. ADRIAN PARMETER,
New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PARMETER: I hope this will provide something of the background which you need on the Mesquakie people.

"Mesquakie" and "Fox" are two names for one and the same people. "Mesquakie" is an Anglicization of their name for themselves. The term "Fox" is said to have come into use when the French mistook the name of a clan for the name of the whole tribe, and though this misnomer has continued to be favored in our legal and scientific writings, the Indians prefer to be called Mesquakies.

The aboriginal culture of the Mesquakies most resembles that of the Sauks and Kickapoos and the languages of these three tribes are very similar, for the most part mutually intelligible. These languages belong to the Algonquian family of languages which were once spoken over most of central and northeastern North America.

The following three paragraphs are distilled from the brief historical accounts listed below:

Wm. Jones, *Ethnography of the Fox Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 125, 1939, pp. 2–7.

Fred Gearing, et al., editors, *Documentary History of the Fox Project*, University of Chicago, 1960, pp. 62–75.

The Mesquakies, as well as the Sauks, generally dwelt in what is now southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois, from the time that they first became known to Europeans, in the mid-1600's, until after the war of 1812. The Mesquakies opposed French trade and plundered French shipments, evidently originally because the French armed their enemies, the Sioux. In 1712, the Mesquakies, seeking revenge on behalf of their allies the Mascoutens, suffered heavy losses at the hands of the French. But resumed raids on French shipping and on Indians friendly to the French and intrigue with other tribes against French interests were successful enough that the French determined in 1726 to exterminate the Mesquakies tribe. Skirmishes during the next decade greatly reduced the Mesquakie population until other tribes pleaded against the genocide at the Montreal conference of 1737.

In the following years the Mesquakies entered peacefully into the fur trade, but as the land east of the Mississippi began to fill with white settlers, many of the Mesquakies and the Sauks drifted over into Iowa. In 1831 Sauks and Mesquakies remaining around the mouth of the Rock River in Illinois removed to Iowa after the Black Hawk War. In 1836 and 1838 Iowa land was ceded to the U.S. for annuity payments and in 1842 the rest of Iowa was ceded in payment of debts. The Indians were removed to Kansas. In these transactions the U.S. government dealt with the united Sauk and Mesquakie tribes as a single unit, the "Sac and Fox," and continued to do so to some extent after the two tribes ceased to dwell together. This situation is reflected in the legal name of the Mesquakie tribe, "The Sac and Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa."

In Kansas the Mesquakies became displeased with Sauk control of their financial affairs and with pressure to acculturate and to accept allotment in serveralty. In 1856 a group sold ponies and purchased 80 acres of land in Iowa which are included in the present tribal land holdings. The Iowa legislature passed a resolution the same year permitting the Mesquakie to remain in Iowa but for 11 years the federal government refused to renew annuity payments. Until 1896 the Mesquakies lived at peace with their white neighbors in Iowa and ran their own affairs. In that year they were placed under federal jurisdiction as a result of lobbying by a group of Tama County citizens organized for the purpose of assimilating the Indians to white culture.

The remaining paragraphs are based on personal observation of and discussion with Mesquakies living at the Mesquakie Indian Settlement west of Tama, Iowa, during the past year.

Since 1856 the land owned by the tribe has increased to about 3500 acres. The Settlement differs from the usual Indian reservation in that the land is owned by the Mesquakie tribe and the Indians pay taxes on it. The land is partly low hills—rugged and wooded, partly flood plain along the Iowa River, and partly tilled fields. Dwellings are scattered, in density and pattern much as in expensive semirural suburbs such as Potomac, Maryland.

Many aspects of Indian culture, as opposed to general White American-European culture, are preserved and revered by the residents of the settlement. Among these are native religions, the Mesquakie language, Mesquakie music and dancing, something of native agriculture with distinctive crops, food preservation, and cuisine, traditional individual responsibilty for the welfare of relatives and tribe, traditional hospitality and generosity and the annual pow-wow.

Concerning the Mesquakie language, it is used exclusively by Mesquakies talking to Mesquakies as well as in not infrequent contacts with Sauks and Kickapoos. As a result, the Mesquakie child hears little English before school, and enters school a monolingual in the Mesquakie language. Mesquakies learn English in school and all the adults that I know speak good English, though I am told that there are two or three old people who speak only Mesquakie. The language is a written language, with a system of transcription in Roman lettters which probably goes back to French times. This system was taught in the home until a few generations ago; now few younger Mesquakies can write their native language.

If I can furnish any further information or clarification please feel free to ask me.

Sincerely,

PAUL VOORHIS.
Department of Anthropology.

WORKING PROPOSAL FOR MESQUAKIE SCHOOL

The Mesquakies people are a proud people. They have set precedence in several areas. At one time the Mesquakies owned most of the eastern half of Iowa. The white man came and moved the Mesquakies to Kansas and threatened on into Oklahoma. The Mesquakies had either stayed in Iowa or returned from Kansas to buy land so that they could remain Mesquakie and follow their traditional enterprises. The Mesquakies are the first and only Tribes to buy and maintain their own land. The pride and desire to remain Mesquakie once again was demonstrated in the Fall of 1968 when the Mesquakies again said no to a Federal policy. They were the first Tribe to initiate legal action to maintain a school upon the settlement when the Bureau of Indian Affairs desired to close that school.

The Mesquakies are continuing their desire to maintain what they are. For the next school year they do not want the former BIA school with its inferior education nor the white public school. They want a Mesquakie school. Because of treaties and Federal law education has been provided for the Mesquakies by the Federal Government. It is felt that the time has come for the Mesquakies to ask, no, to demand, that they have a say in the education of their children. In the past years education by the BIA was not for what the Mesquakie desired but rather to destroy his culture and his pride in himself. It was an education to make him into a white man. The most recent development in the transferring of the children to the South Tama Community School District for education was interpreted as one part of a plan to terminate Federal services which the Mesquakies felt to be in violation of their Federal treaties.

The Mesquakies are a relatively small and isolated Tribe which feels the pressures of the white society in which they must live and operate. They are keenly aware of the pressures to assimilate them into the white society. The closing of their school seemed to them to be an end of the Tribe.

The Mesquakies are concerned about what the children are to be taught and how they are to be taught. They want the children to be brought up in the values and beliefs of the Mesquakie. With the closing of the school they are faced with the dilemma of the young people being educated in a culture which is alien to them. They are faced with becoming products of an educated system which will not affirm the values of a Mesquakie. The Mesquakies know that their children must be educated in a way that they can find the answers to the questions of life in the context of their heritage. They also know that that child must participate and compete in the white society for the food which he is able to put upon the table. They have discovered that the destruction of the Mesquakie culture in the youth does not make him better able to compete in the white society; it often causes him to drop out and become virtually unemployable. They feel only by understanding what it is to be a Mesquakie and acquiring the skills to operate in a white society can a young Mesquakie compete favorably and yet retain that sureness and security of his culture. Only by setting the base for what he is, is he strong enough to meet the demands of the white community. The Mesquakie realizes that unless he is allowed to control the education of his children he will be faced with more of the same frustrations that have faced him because of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' policy of assimilating all Indians into the white society.

To allow the Mesquakies to develop and implement their educational desires the following program has been proposed and is in operation.

I. SET UP AND DEVELOP PROGRAM, FEBRUARY–MAY

A. Find personnel and set up office for operation.

1. Coordinator. This is a full-time job and will be aimed at coordination of all activities. There is a wide variety of organizations and agencies and persons who have volunteered their aid in developing and implementing an educational program. The coordinator should coordinate these activities. He should develop the actual machinery for school planning and open paths for obtaining personnel for the actual operation of the school.

2. Home school workers. (a) Family services. The assignment is to keep the Tribe informed on what is happening and to work on relations with the community and parents of those who will be attending the school. (b) Student services. The assignment is to work with the Youth Council and look into the questions of student rights in the Tama school under present circumstances. He will plan for future relations with Tama. He will also have a big hand in helping develop any summer programs.

B. Find Money. The following budget will be necessary for the first three months.

Coordinator, $400 per month × 3 months	$1,200
Home school workers, 2 × $200 per month × 3 months	1,200
Telephone	150
Office	200
Supplies	150
Student funds	600
Travel and meetings	200
Total	3,700

If this money cannot be supplied by the Tribe an attempt should be made to get emergency funds from organizations or individuals which may have them available, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

C. Structure Administration and Program. This includes planning modification of present recommendations for the type of administration and program that is to be developed. Both aspects are experimental and should be modified as it becomes evident that changes are needed. Outside consultants to be contracted with to develop curriculum and materials.

D. Determine the type of control the Mesquakies wish to exercise. Prepare and develop a program for members of a school board or other administrative group indicating how a school board operates and helping them solve the problems that a new school board will face.

E. Hire personnel. Personnel resources will have to be explored and the staff hired.

F. Identify community resource persons.

1. Persons with excellent knowledge of the language.
2. Persons with knowledge of history.
3. Develop a relation with persons to articulate traditional methods of Mesquakie education.

4. Persons with college degrees that may be able to gain certification by special programs.

G. Develop a program of community relations with the Tama community and South.

Tama Community Schools to provide for the future of the Mesquakie children in the High School in the future.

II. MAY THROUGH JUNE

A. Begin the process of developing materials to be used in a school that relates to the Mesquakie culture.

1. History.
2. Language.
3. et cetera.

B. Continue a program of community relations and community involvement in the development of the school. The more complete community participation, the better.

C. Provide for visits of persons from other tribes to discuss the programs that are being faced in the development of the school. Provide for the visitation by the Tribal Council, and others interested, to other schools in operation and discuss the questions of administration and development.

D. School week. Sometime during the last part of June a week should be set aside to focus on the school, its activities, and its development in relationship with the students, parents and faculty administrations.

E. Any more work that is necessary for getting financing for the school. Most of the work should have been done and money should have been committed at this point, or at least, contacts made.

F. Proposed budget for this period:

Coordinator, $400 per month for 2 months	$800
Home school workers, $200 per month for two workers for 2 months	800
Telephone	100
Office supplies	100
Travel and meetings	400
Student fund	200
Total	2,550

III. SUMMER PROGRAMS, THE FUTURE TEACHERS AND TRIBE SHOULD BE INCLUDED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, JUNE–AUGUST

A. American Friends Service Committee's summer work project.

1. Provide for tutoring of the children to enter school the next year, generally to improve their command of the material required by the State of Iowa.
2. Place emphasis upon youth activities.
3. Aid in developing an arts program.
4. Work with the Tama community and community relations.
5. Prepare materials for the school program.

B. Community kindergarten week.

1. Determine the Mesquakie patterns of child-rearing.
2. Provide a closer relationship between parents and the school.
3. Develop teacher/parent relations.

Budget:

Administration	$3,300
Home workers	1,200
Telephone	150
Office	150
Travel	400
Student fund	200
Total	5,400

IV. SCHOOL IN OPERATION, SEPTEMBER 1969

A. Prior to opening of school, one to two-week teacher training program. Throughout the total program work will be progressing and aiming at the opening of the school in September. It will include teacher training, teacher selection, development of variety of program, preparation of materials, contacting of personnel, finding information on housing, and school building, developing program with the BIA, et cetera.

PROPOSAL FOR SCHOOL OPERATIONS

The Mesquakie School is a project developed by and for the Mesquakies for the Mesquakie settlement at Tama, Iowa. The pressure of time does not allow a complete educational program to be presented at this time. The following proposal is to be regarded as a working paper. It only shows direction and a rough outline of what is recommended for the Mesquakie School. This paper does not solve all the problems that exist and it does not meet all circumstances. It does provide for continuing research and development of an ongoing school program. It should be remembered that at no time can a school program cease to change.

The goal of this program is to make the educational experience relevant to the Mesquakies. Among the youth of the Mesquakie Indian settlement at Tama, there are problems of school dropouts, trouble-making in school, poor attendance, low performance as compared with ability, and alcohol. The goal of the Mesquakie school is to meet some of these problems. At present the Mesquakie youth are faced with the confusion of ideals and conflict between the white society and their traditional heritage. It is hoped that the school will help the youth find a way to meet this dilemma. If in some way the Mesquakie school can make the educational processes relevant to the Mesquakie children and develop motivation to learn so that the children may be able to meet the problems which they face in the white society in which by economics they are forced to operate as well as retain their Indianness, the school will be a success.

NATURE OF THE MESQUAKIE SCHOOL

The School will be a private school financed by contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and subsidized where necessary by private foundations. It will be controlled by the Mesquakie Tribe through the Tribal Council or a school board selected by the Tribe. It will include an ungraded school covering the area from kindergarten through ninth grades. Ninth grade is a natural breaking point since the South Tama Community School District, into which the Mesquakies will probably go upon completion of the schooling on the settlement, is divided into Elementary, Junior High and Senior High School programs. The Junior High Program includes seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. The High School begins at 10th grade. The necessities of a large number of courses and few students at this time makes a high school impractical. The full nine grades, however, do give time to give a good solid basis in the heritage.

The school will not be concerned just with the area from Kindergarten through ninth grade, but will also work on the development of a pre-school, adult education program, tutoring program for students of all ages and classifications, community relations program and program of relations with the South Tama Community School District to solve the mutual problems of educating the children.

At present the Tribal lands are held in trust for them by the United States Government. In the past, the Bureau of Indian Affairs School on the settlement was exempted from State School laws and standards. It appears that the Mesquakie school will still be exempt from State standards, but every attempt will be made to comply with State standards where possible with the cooperation of the State Department of Public Instruction.

ORGANIZATION

A. The Tribe.

The power over the school will actually reside in the Tribe which will have both obligations and privileges toward the development of the school and should participate as much as possible in the school activities.

B. The school board.

The Tribe will have to delegate its powers to the operation of the School to some type of school board. At present the Tribal Council exists as the only legislative body for the Tribe. It is yet to be resolved whether the Tribal Council will operate as a school board or whether a school board will be selected. The operation of the school is a new experience in Tribal life and a program for education of the members of a board to operate the school will have to be developed. The total population of the settlement should be invited to this type of educational program.

c. Director

The Director will be in charge of the Mesquakie School. He will have the responsibility of public relations and finances to operate the school. He will develop programs and relations with the High School. He will work with the usual problems of school administration.

d. Director of education

The primary duty of the Director of Education will be curriculum and at all times assessing the program that is in the operation. He will be in charge of development of new materials and work with teachers to solve the various problems they will face in the educational program. He will have the responsibility of developing an adult education program and tutoring program.

e. Teaching teams

The teaching staff of the school will consist of three teams of six persons. Two lead teachers who will be certified and working towards a masters degree, four internes who will be certified at least by emergency certification and two teacher's aides.

f. Community staff resources

At least four persons from the community will be employed by the school to work with language, history and tradition of the Mesquakie Tribe. There is little likelihood that these persons can be certified, but they will be working with the teaching staff of the school.

g. Specialists

At least two full-time specialists will be hired for the staff. The one person will work in the area of music, art or the other fine arts. He will work with each class of the school thereby relieving the burdens of the teaching staff. The other full-time provision could be used to hire a counselor or qualified psychologist. Other specialists should be hired when it is obvious that they are desirable.

h. Consultants

There is provision made for the hiring of consultants on special issues that the school will face.

JOB DESCRIPTION OF TEACHERS

Lead teachers

The lead teachers will be required to have State Certification. They will be required to have education courses required by the State and a masters degree in education or be working on a masters degree. They will be required to study cross-cultural education during the year. It will be necessary that they will be sympathetic with the problems that the Mesquakies are facing. They will be working as a team to teach the students and to solve the problems that the school will face. They will determine, with cooperation of the team and the Director of Education, the classes into which the students will be divided. They will be given time to help in the development of adult education programs and tutoring projects. They will be expected to conduct home visitations and work with the Mesquakies on a social basis. The schedule of course work will be such to allow maximum time to further education and study and plan.

Internes

The Internes if possible will have a degree from an accredited college or university. They need not have completed the required educational courses for certification, but must be eligible for emergency certification. They will be required to take educational courses aimed at their getting certification. In working toward certification they will be required to do work in cross-cultural education. They will share classroom work with lead teachers and work with the team in determining classroom policy. They will have responsibilities in adult education and tutoring of High School students.

Teacher aides

Teacher aides may or may not have attended college. Their purpose is to work with the students to help remove load from the teachers and supply the close ties with the community that are so necessary. They will do the secretarial work and will help supervise playground activities, recreational activities, et cetera. They will be required to take courses that will be taught on the settlement in the area of child development and psychology.

BUILDING FACILITIES

The present building has three large classrooms, one gymnasium, one kitchen, one library room or small classroom, two restrooms and an office.

This building may be used for the conducting of classes. At present the relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not been decided. It is suggested that the Tribe take over the use of the building and lease to the Bureau of Indian Affairs the space which they would need for office, or make available some other space to the BIA for office room on the settlement.

It is clear that more room will be needed to operate the full nine grades plus a Kindergarten and Pre-school. The three classrooms are large and could be divided by partitions to make small groups. If this is done, at least three more classrooms will be needed. These classrooms can be provided until more room can be built by renting or buying the portable classrooms that are available. The BIA has built several schools on reservations and there is no reason that it could not be done here or at least Government grants be made available. It will also be important to have a room for arts and crafts, but possibly some other arrangements could be made for it this first year.

ACTUAL SCHOOL PROGRAM

The Mesquakie School will not be limited to the traditional ideas of a school. It will be an agency for community action. At present the school building is the focal point for total community involvement. It is hoped that this type of involvement will be continued and the gym should be used for recreational purposes as it is at present. The school should involve the total community. It should work towards relations with the Tama Community as well as conducting adult education and tutoring projects for the students.

Method of operation

The basic school activity will be an ungraded school. Grouping will be made regarding reading ability and taking into account certain social considerations such as age. The groups will be small groups so that the students can get close teacher attention.

The goal is to allow the teacher to know the needs of the student on a very personal level. While grouping according to reading ability, allowances should be made for achievement in the differing subject matter. The student should remain with his class for courses such as Mesquakie language, history, social sciences and other of the major reading areas. He may be separated for individual attention in areas such as remedial reading or arithmetic. The grouping will be done by the team along with the Director of Education. It should be based upon performance not ability. The group should not be used to punish or reward, but to aid students in learning. The school should attempt to discover where the student is and what his basic problems are and begin the educational process from that point.

Curriculum

Curriculum is going to have to be developed to a large degree as the preparations are made for the school and research is done. However, it should make use of the Mesquakie history, culture and language as much as possible.

Language use

At the present time when the Mesquakie student starts to school he has limited fluency in English. This limited fluency manifests itself later in trouble with reading and writing. It appears that this problem could be met by teaching English as a second language. The Mesquakie would start to school learning both through the use of Mesquakie and English in the classroom. It is important that by the 11th grade the Mesquakie student is able to attend South Tama Community School District's school and compete with the students there. The use of the Mesquakie should be aimed at giving pride in one's own language and showing that it can be also used for reading and writing. Towards this end, the history and cultural aspects of the Tribe could be taught in Mesquakie with the bridge being made in English in the other classroom subjects.

The teaching, as much as possible, should be done with very little emphasis upon the lecture system. A participation system has been found to be more effective when dealing with persons of an Indian culture. The teaching should be directed in instilling a desire to learn so that the Mesquakie can operate freely in the white society as well as his own.

HISTORY OF THE MESQUAKIES

Both written and oral history of the Tribe as well as the traditional history courses should be taught to the Mesquakie children. It is important in understanding culture to know the history of that culture.

The arts

In Indian education it has been found that the native arts can be used to reach the students, make the school relevant, develop pride in themselves, and develop the self confidence necessary to achieve the ends the students desire. To this end the art specialist should be used as much as possible. The Mesquakies have an unusual ability for the arts. This should be taken advantage of to the fullest degree to aid the children in developing interest in the educational processes. An art center for elementary and high school students as well as adults should be developed in conjunction with the school. This should be for the creation of fine arts not just Indian crafts as are generally exploited, but the fine arts that the Mesquakies are capable of doing.

Music

The Mesquakies have a long tradition of vocal music. Almost every Saturday night they have a dance using vocal music and drums as accompaniment. Little has been done with traditional instruments or with instrumentation. It would appear that a wide variety of things can be done with the native music to adapt it to traditional instruments and to adapt it for production and choir use. This area should be explored.

Continuing development

Any staff member may submit a proposal to his team or for the whole staff to consider. The staff then will consider the proposal and if they approve it then send it to the Board of Education.

The staff should set up regular meetings with consultants or experienced persons from other schools. An attempt should be made to develop new techniques and explore the wide variety of changes that are being made in the educational system.

Adult education

A necessary part of the school will be getting the community involved and participating in education. There are many adults who do not have the necessary education to read and write well. Courses should be offered to allow the high school dropouts to finish their schooling. Courses should be planned that are of general interest to the community and scholarship should be sought for the older persons who would like to go back to college or finish high school in some way. An emphasis should be put upon reading and writing.

Youth services

The youth between seventh grade and high school are some of those who feel the pressure of the white community and the conflicts that arise more than anyone else. They at present do not seem to have an adequate way of expressing their frustrations and it is often drowned in drinking or they react in a very anti-social way. Toward this end a program of tutoring, guidance and recreation should be instituted. An art center or someplace where the students could express themselves should be set up. Tama relations should be improved. Without the cooperation of the school and South Tama Community School District it is difficult for the youth to really break out of the problems which they now face. The school closing problem has been focused upon the High School youth. They feel the reaction of the Tama people probably more than anyone else.

Library

The library is important to any school. At the present time there is a very poor library facility on the settlement. The Indian Day School has a few old books but many more are necessary to begin to meet State requirements. The library should be geared not only to the students that are attending the school, but should be aimed at the total community if possible. At present there is no collection of books on the Mesquakies. This should be developed since there are a fair number of books and studies on the Mesquakies published.

Work should be done to secure scholarship programs and consultation with colleges like in the Upward Bound Program. If at all possible, a program should be developed on the settlement to identify future teachers and encourage them to go into the teaching field so that they will be able to return and teach in the Mesquakie School.

Teacher education

To make the Mesquakie School program effective, the school staff must be sensitive to the needs of the Mesquakies and must understand the problems of cross-cultural teaching. To this end, an agreement or working relationship should be worked out with one of the universities of Iowa. Drake University has indicated an interest and so has the University of Northern Iowa. The exact details have not been worked out. A masters degree in education should be developed that would allow for the use of Mesquakie people in some sort of workshop basis to acquaint the teachers with the problems of cross-cultural education. The school could be used as a proving ground for certain theories. The masters degree in education would be for those teachers who have at present finished college and may or may not have the required teaching courses. A separate program should be instituted for those on the staff who have not finished college but would wish to do so. This program should be aimed at giving them the basic fundamentals of teaching and the guidance necessary to determine whether they wish to go on to college or not. A program for continuing education of the internes should be developed also.

Some sort of provision should be made to allow for pay or leaves of absence for teachers to go to school. If a group contract for going to school could be cheaper than paying single tuitions something should be worked out with the college or university. There have been offers of interest from Grinnell College, University of Iowa, Drake University, Earlham College and the University of Northern Iowa. It is apparent that colleges are interested in the type of thing that is being done on the settlement and are willing to cooperate.

Budget:	
Personnel:	
Director	$10,000
Secretary	4,800
Director of education	9,000
Six head teachers at $6,000 average	36,000
Nine internes at $5,000 average	45,000
Three teacher aides at $4,800 average	14,400
Two specialists at $7,000	14,000
Four one-half time community staff at $3,000	12,000
Total	145,200
Services:	
Bus contract at $1,000	1,000
14,000 lunches at $.54	7,566
	8,560
Instructional materials:	
Texts to be purchased	2,500
Texts to be developed (price to be determined)	
Library	2,500
Teaching Supplies	5,000
Athletic Equipment	200
Adult Education	900
Tutoring Supplies	400
Community Relations	300
Total	9,300
Administration:	
Office Supplies	1,000
Phone	700
Conferences for Staff	300
Consultants at $20.00 per day	800
Total	2,800

Budget—Continued

Plant Operation:	
Heat	1,200
Electricity	1,700
Water	100
Sewer	20
Appliances	100
Grounds	700
Furniture	3,000
Service Supplies	8,120
Total	11,940
Grand total	$183,000

Cost to be determined teacher education, evaluation of program and buildings.

FORGOTTEN

Red skies shining, clouds drifting, no wind blowing, a silent sunset.
The Indian's shadow is short, casting nothing. Wise legends need not be said.
Traditions, thoughts and things are dead.
The Indian is not riding against the wind.
No more does he wait for the challenge—because he's nothing.
A forgotten man stands alone under the tree and on the ground where his ancestors are not buried.
A forgotten man listens to echoes tempting him to do what should be done, and stands with arms reached while colors of people walk by, arms hanging loosely while he will cry.
A forgotten man stands falsely to the American flag and to the national anthem. He will be remembered as a man standing in the dark hallways of the past.
For him no regrets, we'll do what we can do.
Tilting heads in disbelief, but, we are only a few.
Stripped of pride, people, lands and water, once ours.
We'll stand crying, hoping . . . waiting for the right hours.

—*Ray Youngbear.*

JANUARY 29, 1969.

MR. ADRIAN PARMETER,
Staff Director, Subcommittee on Indian Education, The New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PARMETER: Enclosed is a petition open letter supporting the Mesquakie Tribe (Sac & Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa) in their fight to keep their school on the Mesquakie Settlement at Tama, Iowa. As non-Indian citizens we are concerned over the injustice which will be done the Mesquakies, regardless of innocent motives, should the Bureau of Indian Affairs permanently close the school.

In recent days the Bureau has displayed new attentiveness to the arguments of the Mesquakie Tribal Council. Commissioner R. L. Bennett of the BIA has told a Mesquakie delegation that he "favors keeping open Indian schools where Indians want to do so and believes there is now public support for such a policy." (Des Moines *Register*, January 10, 1969.) But it is not known whether his decision will be implemented immediately or whether the Nixon administration might adopt another policy. Plainly, increasing public support is of the utmost importance.

We ask your support. Letters to President Nixon, Interior Secretary Hickel, the BIA and the House and Senate Sub-Committees on Indian Affairs are urgently needed. For further information please contact the Secretary of the Mesquakie Tribal Council, Mr. Don Wanatee, Box #40, R. R. #2, Tama, Iowa.

Sincerely,

JACK AND LYDIA FOLEY.

WE CAN HELP THE SAC AND FOX OF TAMA

(Copies of this petition will be sent to the United States President, U.S. Senators and Congressmen, Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Governor of Iowa and other persons.)

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The Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the name of racial integration, is bent on the disintegration of the ancient Mesquakie tribe (Sac and Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa). The whole life of this tribe—its history and religion and culture—is in its language. Young Mesquakies can learn their language only if the tribe has its own school.

The BIA does run a school on the Settlement (in which the Mesquakie language and customs are NOT taught). At one time classes ranged from kindergarten through the eighth grade, but over a ten-year period the BIA has reduced the school year by year until today only grades one through four remain. Last year the Bureau announced that not enough children were left to justify keeping the school open; they would all have to attend public schools. The Mesquakies won a temporary injunction to re-open their school but its future is very much in doubt. The Bureau's motives are not principally budgetary. Its expressed intention is the rapid integration of the young Mesquakies into the non-Indian society. In effect the BIA is saying, "The only good Indian culture is a dead Indian culture."

If the school is closed permanently, it has been estimated that within ten years this ancient tribe will no longer exist. The old people will have died, the young will have scattered. BIA officials might believe they are doing good, but the result of their action will be the 100% extermination of one of the great American tribes.

The Mesquakies hope not for separation but for survival. A school with improved facilities, one once again encompassing the elementary and possibly the high school grades, bilingual but oriented around the Mesquakie culture, is their only hope of survival. Accommodation of both cultures is important and necessary, but it can only come about through mutual understanding.

We urge that the BIA and the House and Senate, Subcommittees on Indian Affairs judge the situation from the Mesquakies point of view, and adopt a general policy of local control in tribal affairs.

JACK FOLEY,
(And 47 others).

[From the Des Moines Sunday Register, July 28, 1968]

U.S. INDIAN BUREAU TO CLOSE SAC, FOX SCHOOL AT TAMA

(By Otto Knauth)

TAMA, IA.—A top official of the Minneapolis office of the U.S. Bureau of Indiana Affairs (BIA) said the Bureau has decided to close the Sac and Fox Indian School at Tama.

Glenn R. Landbloom, area director of the BIA office in Minneapolis, said in a telephone interview Friday afternoon, "We feel this is the proper way to move on this thing. This is the better way of taking care of our responsibilities toward the Indians."

The planned closing of the school, which would involve the transfer of about 56 Indian children to grade schools in the South Tama School District, was the subject of a length meeting June 19 at which the seven members of the Mesquakie Tribal Council voiced unanimous opposition.

DESPITE OPPOSITION

Landbloom said the school would be closed despite that unanimous opposition because the Bureau believes it is easier for Indian children to make the adjustment to white society when they are young.

Students in grades seven through 12 have been used to Tama High School; pre-school and kindergarten pupils also and kindergarten pupils also have been attending white schools in the district. The closing of the Indian School would affect students in grades one through six.

For reasons not immediately apparent, the Indians themselves have not been notified by the BIA of the decision to close the school.

Columbus Keahna, chairman of the Tribal Council, said Saturday that Newman Groves, resident Officer in Charge for the BIA at the settlement, told the council Friday night that no decision had been reached.

At that meeting, the council voted, 6 to 0, to approve a motion "never to agree to the complete transfer of all students from the Indian School," Keahna said.

Voting for the resolution were Keahne, Horace Poweshiek, vice-chairman; Kenneth Youngbear, treasurer; Donald Wanatee, secretary; and Mrs. Adeline Wanatee and Leo Keahna.

Councilman Curtis Youngbear was absent.

LINES DRAWN

Thus the lines are drawn between the BIA's intention of speeding up integration of the tribe and the Indians' determination to adhere to their own way of life.

Tama schools open Tuesday, Sept. 3, the day after Labor Day. The district has been quietly preparing to handle the additional pupils in its schools in Tama, Toledo and Montour.

Keahna said the Indians are undecided what steps to take in the face of Landbloom's announcement that the school will be closed.

"It looks like the only way we can apply pressure is by keeping our children out," he said. "That, and writing to our congressmen, all of them."

The council last week received a letter from Representative John Kyl of the Fourth District in reply to one from the council regarding the school.

"My experiences with the personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs make it difficult to question the motivations of the department," Kyl a Republican, said, adding that he was "personally reluctant to close the school at this time."

"The opinion of the tribal members should loom large in this consideration," he said.

Keahna said the council would meet again this week to formulate a plan for action.

[From the Toledo Chronicle, Toledo, Iowa]

INDIAN BOYCOTT OF STC SCHOOLS NOT CLEARLY EVIDENT

A proposed boycott of South Tama Schools by students from the Mesquakie Indian Settlement appears to be on uncertain ground as of Wednesday with principals at all centers reporting some Indian children in attendance.

Horace Poweshiek, chairman of the Tribal Council had urged familes not to send their children to the public schools as a means of protesting the closing of the Indian school on the settlement.

Principals at the elementary centers of Tama, Toledo and Montour indicated that some Indian children were in attendance and pointed out that a child could not be considered absent until he had enrolled. Lists compiled from the Indian school records rapidly become obsolete as Indian families move from one place to the other on the settlement or off and on the Indian grounds. They were not certain how many Indian children should be in attendance at each center.

Three bus routes have been established through the settlement with those south and east of the Pow Wod grounds attending Tama, west and north of the Pow Wow grounds at Montour and those north of the main road west of the Pow Wow road going into Toledo. A youngster could report at a different center simply by, moving across the road, they pointed out.

Several families sent children to school on Wednesday who had been away attending the Rock Island Pow Wow and others are reported ill and expected to attend later, school officials said.

Principal Bachman said no attendance reports on the Indian students would be released on orders by the administration. He indicated that Indian students were in attendance Tuesday and others enrolled on Wednesday.

Director Ervin Heller stated that the South Tama School Board was not trying to force the Indian children to attend the South Tama schools, but were providing the facilities for those who wished to attend. The STC district has no legal means of doing so, he said, since they live off the district and are tuition students.

Probation officer Harold Hauser states that the Iowa truancy law requires that children from age 7 to 16 be enrolled regularly in school, and if they are absent a sufficient time to be delinquent their school officials, with or without parental consent, will report them. The sheriff acts as truant officer, and the children are brought into juvenile court, if the matter cannot be resolved they are sent to an institution.

His understanding of the law leads him to conclude that these children will before long be in school "with or without the blessing of the parents."

The situation in this case is peculiar, since the Settlement students do not belong, in every sense, to the local school district, and attend as tuition students, limiting the power and responsibility of the South Tama administration.

INDIAN CHILDREN DRIBBLE BACK TO SCHOOL

Indian students from the Tama Settlement continue to dribble into the south Tama elementary grades and high school each day, but quite a few are still out as a protest against the closing of the Sac and Fox day school, it was reported Wednesday morning. The official attendance count in the south Tama school district will be taken Friday, Sept. 13, at which time a more accurate picture will be available of how many Indian students still have not enrolled in the town schools. The state law which requires that children attend school is believed to also apply to the children on the Sac and Fox settlement. If their parents do not enroll them in school, they are subject to action to be taken by the probation officer.

[From the Des Moines Register, Tuesday, Oct. 1, 1968]

HAILS COURT'S INDIAN RULING

(By Otto Knauth)

The federal court ruling ordering the Mesquakie Indian settlement school reopened was hailed as "a landmark" decision by a speaker at a Des Moines meeting called to discuss the school situation Monday night.

Dr. Sol Tax, University of Chicago anthropologist who probably knows more about the Mesquakies than any other white man, said "the Mesquakies can be proud of what they have done here in Iowa today."

REDRESS GRIEVANCES

"As I understand the decision," Dr. Tax said, "it means that the court accepts the right of Indians to bring suit for a redress of their grievances.

"This is a landmark decision that will spread to all the states. The Mesquakies today have helped all Indians."

Dr. Tax spoke at a meeting attended by about 100 persons at the Friends House, meeting house of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) at 4211 Grand ave.

The meeting has been called to discuss ways of helping the Mesquakies in their battle to save their school. In the wake of the Cedar Rapids court decision, it developed into a discussion of how that decision could best be implemented.

BIA DECISION

"It has always been a white man's assumption," Dr. Tax said, "that the Indians would eventually become a part of white culture. This has been the policy behind the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) decision to close the school.

"The Indians have always been told, 'if you want to get ahead, be a white.'

"This is a myth," Dr. Tax said. "And the people of Iowa, including the judge and the school people, will have to admit that the Indians have a right to remain Indian.

"The problem is not so much to educate the Indians as it is to educate all of us that the Indians are going to be around forever.

"Let us not 'bury' the Indians as Khrushchev once said he would bury us.

"We can't determine the Indians' fate or future. That policy is self-defeating."

TOO SMALL

Dr. Tax said that the BIA had chipped away at the settlement school year by year until it could finally say. "This school is too small to be a good school; now let's close it."

"Now, with the court decision to back them up," he said, "the Indians won't lose any more ground, but neither will they gain any unless the people of Iowa help."

The audience, which included at least three representatives of the BIA and many Mesquakies, heard a moving plea from Donald Wanatee, secretary of the Mesquakie Tribal Council.

"We are a tribe, a recognized tribe," Wanatee said. "Treat us as a tribe. Give us a chance to educate our children."

BIA THREAT

He charged that a boycott by Indian parents of the public schools was largely ended by a BIA officer "who came around and told parents to send their children to public school and threatened to send around the truant officer if they didn't."

One of the Indians in the audience, Jessup Leslie, told of a similar experience with a BIA officer.

[After the meeting, Raymond Wolf of Minneapolis, Minn., former officer-in-charge for the BIA at the settlement, conceded he had contacted parents in the settlement but denied he had used any threats in doing so.]

Wanatee said that in the early days of the tribe, it resisted education and it was forced upon them. Now "we realize we have to be educated in order to get along in a world you have created for us," he said.

His speech brought a burst of applause from the audience.

Lonnie Hardin of Albuquerque, N.M., assistant chief of public school relations for the BIA spoke briefly for the BIA. He said it might be possible for the Mesquakies to contract for the school themselves instead of having the BIA do it for them.

[From the Des Moines Sunday Register, Oct. 6, 1968]

MESQUAKIES KEEP SCHOOL

Closing or keeping open one small school for 56 grade-school children may seem a small thing, but to the Mesquakies of Iowa it is a matter of towering importance. They have been resigned for many years to getting a white man's education and taking employment in a white man's world, but they love the warmth of their tribal community and are willing to endure relative poverty to keep it going.

They want their children to have the opportunity to keep the Indian ethic of sharing and consensus, to speak the Mesquakie language in the home, and at school to learn something of Indian history and culture and to acquire some English (a foreign language) before being thrown into the strange competitive world of a white man's school.

Above all, the Mesquakies objected to having their community school closed against the will of the tribal council and the tribal community.

The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) closed the school as of July 1, after whittling it away grade by grade over the years, and then "explained" to some of the Mesquakie leaders that they were doing it. The leaders objected, then the tribal council, then most of the tribe. The Mesquakie boycott of the white schools to which their children were assigned this fall collapsed after a BIA official talked to parents.

But the Mesquakie suit in federal court won a court order to the BIA to reopen the school on the settlement near Tama by Oct. 31 for grades 1 through 4, and for the parties to submit a plan for final solution of the dispute to the court by Feb. 28.

In general, tiny schools are inefficient and where busing is feasible they must generally be replaced by larger schools at a distance, despite the regrets of parents at loss of a school close by. Small schools have been closing by thousands since buses and all-weather roads became common.

The Mesquakie settlement, however, is an unusual community, a triumph of ideas and devotion over material handicaps, a little world in itself, interdependent with the larger world, a subnation with special ways and special tribal, treaty and constitutional rights.

White Americans have a saying that America wins its wars and loses its treaties. American Indians lose wars and treaties as well. They lost most of their land, most of them lost their livelihood, and the obligations they thought the Great White Father had assumed to give them education and health service have been skimped and twisted into instruments for depriving them of their Indian heritage.

But the Mesquakies of Iowa, facing a last battle for the children of the tribe, went to the white man's court and won!

[From the Des Moines Register, Feb. 20, 1969]

Ruling Favors Mesquakies

(By William Simbro)

Cedar Rapids, Iowa—The Mesquakie Indians have won another round in their effort to retain an Indian day school on the settlement grounds near Tama.

U.S. District Judge Edward J. McManus has denied a motion by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to dismiss a suit filed last fall by the Mesquakie Tribal Council against the BIA and the South Tama Community School District.

BIA officials had announced that the day school wouldn't reopen last fall. The tribal council then filed suit.

REOPENING ORDERED

After an all-day pre-trial conference last Sept. 30, McManus ordered the school reopened by last Oct. 31 for grades one through four.

Attorneys for both sides were ordered to submit to the court a proposed plan for the resolution of the problem by not later than Feb. 28.

The school reopened, according to the ruling's direction. The BIA then sought the dismissal.

In arguments Jan. 8 Gene Krekel, assistant U.S. district attorney who represented the BIA, argued that the traditional doctrine of "sovereign immunity" prevented the court from issuing an injunction against a governmental body such as the BIA.

In his ruling announced Wednesday, McManus held that the court has jurisdiction under a U.S. code provision that says federal courts have jurisdiction in any controversy arising from a treaty with an Indian tribe.

1842 TREATY

The Mesquakies base their case on an 1842 treaty between the tribe and the U.S. government.

The tribal council, the BIA and the South Tama School District still face the Feb. 28 deadline to present a proposed solution to the problem.

If nothing definite is worked out the parties will meet with McManus at a Mar. 3 pre-trial conference.

Tribal leaders say their children are at a disadvantage in the public schools, party because English isn't spoken in many of the Indian homes.

They maintain that it is important to retain and enhance an appreciation for the tribal heritage and that this can better be done in the settlement day school.

The tribe's suit contends that the school was "closed without the consent of the plaintiffs and contrary to their wishes."

Quakers To Help Indians Set Up School Near Tama

(By Otto Knauth)

Tama, Iowa.—The Mesquakie Indians have authorized the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) to organize a private school for the education of Indian children on the settlement near here.

The school would replace the one presently being operated on the settlement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA is operating the school under orders from federal court after attempting to close it last summer.

DIRECT CONTROL

The new school, according to John Hedges, Des Moines, and attorney for the Quakers who has been working with the Mesquakies, would be under direct control of the Indians themselves, classes would be taught in the Mesquakie language as much as possible and it would be financed by the BIA.

Education of the Indian children here has long been a thorn in the side of the Mesquakies, who are descendants of the old Fox tribe which inhabited Iowa before the arrival of the white man.

The BIA for years has used its school on the settlement as a tool to speed up the assimilation of the Indians into white society. The Indians have resisted with all the means at their command and finally appealed to federal court last fall when the BIA ordered the school closed in order to force the Indian children to attend public schools.

The proposed tribal school goes back to the order by U.S. District Judge Edward J. McManus of Cedar Rapids to reopen the school. As part of the ruling, he ordered both the BIA and the Indians to draw up plans for the future operation of the school.

The BIA instead attempted to have the case thrown out of court. The Indians, on the other hand, drew up a detailed educational plan with the assistance of the Quakers and submitted it to the court.

MEETING IN JUNE

Another meeting before the court is scheduled for early in June.

Under the Quaker plan, the Indians would hire a school director, a director of education, an art education specialist, a music education specialist and four certified teachers, as well as teachers assistants and teaching interns as needed.

As many of these as possible would come from the tribe itself, Hedges said, and as many classes as possible would be taught in the Mesquakie language, which most Indian children learn before they learn English.

Tribal traditions, customs and history would be stressed in the curriculum. The Indians have been particularly critical about the lack of these in their present schooling.

Quaker funds would be available to get the school started, Hedges said, but ultimately, funds for the permanent operation of the school would have to come from the BIA, as they do now. This matter is under negotiation with the BIA in Washington, D.C., Hedges said.

Report on the Extermination/Assimilation/Termination/Relocation of the American Indian, an Informal and Unsolved Series of Observations and Opinions Prepared for Limited Circulation Within HEW

One unique tradition that stands out in any examination of the Federal-Indian relationship is that of the Government having an "answer" available without first appearing to have asked a question. And that answer, the mode of implementation for which may change but whose purpose seems constant, is "somehow" to bring someone, rather generally termed "the American Indian," into what is often called "The Mainstream of American Life." Regardless of the mechanism to bring him to this happy state, whether through removal of his children great distances to the quasi-military Boarding School of the past, or through Relocation to the city, or through Termination (or threatened termination) of the Reservation system, "the Indian" has somehow managed to survive these assaults upon his person and his way of life to a remarkable degree. The one consistent aim in all these efforts has been the extermination of the recipient—if not, in more enlightened days, as an individual person, certainly as a member of a clearly discernible cultural group.

Against this background, it was with considerable interest and hope I awaited publication of the "President's Message Relating to the Problems of the American Indians." (2) Unfortunately, in my opinion, this Message shows little more awareness of the scope and depth of some of the fundamental difficulties than we have seen exhibited by Federal actions regarding Indians in the past. The comments which follow pertain primarily to closely related areas of personal and professional concern, health and education, or, more properly, health-education since much of the focus is upon health conditions which impair educability. Some generalization is unavoidable, but specific groups are identified in context as much as possible.

EDUCATION

". . . we must affirm the right of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans."

"We must set a goal to enroll every four and five year old Indian child in a preschool program by 1971."

It appears, to me, that the statements above are contradictory, if observations such as the following have any general applicability. The quotations are those of a single Indian mother from a specific Indian tribe. (3) The writer, a very intelligent and perceptive Mesquakie mother, clearly is able to perceive the world from both the "white" and "Indian" point of view with remarkable objectivity.

In a letter written in December, 1964, she discussed her children's progress in school and remarked that she was surprised to see that her daughter in the sixth grade had made a "B" in English:

> ". . . (the teacher is) quite concerned about each Indian student she's had—as according to her that an Indian student has this unique *dis*advantage and can't figure out why. This is one phase where all Indian students seem to fail. But I honestly don't feel that even knowing this from first-hand experience we will stop teaching our children the language and make a drastic step to send our young ones to white schools in town. I intend to concentrate on our methods of acquiring teachers for our school and try to get teachers who are up to date and aware of this English problem with the children. Somewhere we should find an answer.
>
> "Do you know that's one of a white man's problems. Disgusting, too. They can't let well enough alone—they have to go try help change people even to teaching Christianity—missionaries all over. They seem to want conformity in all races to one—such as one language, one church, and one race."

That she is concerned about her children's education and is aware of its importance in the face of contrary cultural attitudes is evident in this quote from a letter dated June, 1965:

> "Some of these parents aren't too aware of their children's problems in school and getting along in school. I think the attitude of 'Oh we're *just* Indians, anyway!' is still being a good excuse for all things.
>
> "I've always maintained the idea that the children can live in two cultures without sacrificing their religion and lessons. The parents should accept full responsibility of teaching their children, instilling ideas and ways of our life as Indians at home. That's the only thing we can do. Get them while they're young."

In a letter dated November, 1966, she discussed her young son, who needed special education instruction which could only be obtained at the local non-Indian school:

> "He doesn't *care* to go—not at all enthusiastic anymore. Once he came home—sat around the house—kept going from his Dad and me, saying nothing significant. I knew he wanted to talk—so we sat with him and talked. His question was 'Why do we have to be Indians!?! I knew this was coming one time or another. After this remark I knew what his problems and his silent withdrawal were about. This will take time to absorb with (him) . . . This is his first year with the whites . . . He will have to get used to it. We had a long talk with him . . . Even (another son) . . . comes home (from kindergarten) and tells us things like 'dumb Indian', etc. I met quite a few teachers and had a discussion about how wonderful it was that the children (Indian) are attending school earlier and how they wished for more parents to send their children to public school so that if theirs and our children would be thrown together sooner and oftener that we'll all be 'Buddies' and get along—more contact, better understanding. Heard that before? One parent that I talked to said 'Why you can have Mesquakie language lessons once or twice a week like they have similar to Catholics!! On this Settlement, people with young children going to Head Start and all that—they've been complaining to me that their kids have turned into 'brats' since school started! This I found by experience. Oh, yes—they talk better English, earlier, but—?!"

The final quote, from a letter sent February, 1968, typified my concern over the apparent contradiction noted above in the President's Message:

> "Well, what we were afraid of has finally happened! The B.I.A. has terminated our school at the Settlement and all our children *have* to attend the public schools. While I hope it's a blessing in disguise, no one really knows how this will affect the children, especially the shy, as most Indian children are. But still the white's 'dream' of the sooner we expose the Indian and white to each other (integration) that it will automatically

> solve the friction and the Indian children will adjust to their 'system' much sooner. Well, in spite of that, I do hope that our children will not be totally discouraged and given every chance to prove themselves. What I resented was the B.I.A.'s attitude of 'sink or swim' argument and the officials losing their tempers when we put up a good argument against the action. And their 'behind-our-back' meetings with the Tama school board and we were the last to know!! Anyway, the school will close in June."

To fully appreciate the way in which actions such as the above affect the people involved, it is helpful to know a few basic facts about the Mesquakie. These people are the descendants of a small group who, while being removed to Kansas following the Black Hawk War, escaped and settled in a small area in the middle of Iowa, on land which they purchased through the sale of their horses. They have been tax-paying property owners to this day. While this status has certain advantages insofar as pride is concerned, it has a number of disadvantages as well in that these people do not have many of the advantages available to reservation dwelling Indians. In spite of the necessity to adopt many of the white customs and attitudes, including those pertaining to employment, the Mesquakie cling very strongly to the ties that are clearly Mesquakie—among them, the use of the Mesquakie language. As a result, most of the children have little exposure to English prior to attending school. It is little wonder, then, that this mother expressed the concerns evident in the previous quotations. (Ten years ago, while involved in field work among the Mesquakie, I was witness to a truly tragic event, the retirement of a teacher who had spent her professional career on the Mesquakie settlement. In my conversations with her it became evident that, after 30 years in teaching the first and second grade, this poor, dedicated, and intensely sincere woman was not aware that the children she had been teaching were not conversant in English.)

Is it any wonder, then, that there are so many reports available to show the resistance on the part of Indian parents toward white-oriented education? Wax (1) believes that the attitude of the elders of the family is one of the primary causes for educational problems of Indian children: "Insofar as they feel that the schools are instrumentalities of the whites, designed to inculcate Indian children with alien values and to transform them into 'whites,' they are antagonistic. This notion of a threat to Indian identity poses the question of the extent to which conservative Indians feel that schools are punitively directed against their very being rather than designed to help them, as Indians, to improve their lot." (p. 701)

Another major factor, as described by Wax (1), and commented upon by my Mesquakie correspondent, above, is the minor extent to which Indians are allowed to participate in decision-making regarding educational matters. By way of example, Wax quotes from a study conducted by the Arizona Division of Indian Education:

> "Many Apaches object strongly to the fact that they have almost no voice in the planning and operation of their educational school program, of their reservation school program, and yet they are expected to give it their full and complete support. Apaches say that they are continually told that some day they will have to run their own affairs, but they are given few opportunities today to learn how to manage such a program through experience gained by taking part in its present operation." (p. 702)

While problems such as the foregoing may be generalized to many groups of Indians, the Sioux appear to be particularly hard-hit by this conflict between their two cultures. Their extremely high drop-out rate in the schools (60% compared to the national average of 23%) may relate, in large part, to the suddenness with which such conflict can occur (4):

> "The Sioux child is completely unprepared to accept authority and direction, while the white child has developed expectations for such a school situation. Not only do authority relationships pose a problem, but the general-American value on competition is inimical to the early training of the Sioux child." (p. 7)

Insofar as school drop outs are concerned, two separate but related research findings are of particular significance: Spilka and Bryde (5), using the Iowa Tests for Educational Achievement found the average total score of 58.4 for seventh grade pupils declining to 32.4 for twelfth grade pupils. Stein (6), using the California Test of Mental Maturity, found that, instead of becoming more proficient in the English language, Sioux children showed less proficiency as they moved from the fifth to the twelfth grade. The interpretation of this finding, which was corroborated by observations of those in attendance at a Conference on Communication Problems of South Dakota Indian Students, is of considerable interest (6):

> "(there is an) . . . almost universal problem of the Indian student who tapers off in scholastic effort beginning in the intermediate grades and junior high school. The committee felt that much of this was caused by the child's recognition of the fact that he was Indian, that Indians were 'different,' and that he, the Indian, constituted a socially separate and financially poor minority group. This information, added to his naturally shy disposition, resulted in feelings of inferiority and frustration; consequently, . . . his scholastic efforts fell off, causing even more frustration, until the individual sought refuge in withdrawing from school." (p. 17)
>
> "Mrs. Ross (an Indian teacher) gave a brief report on the progress being made in reservation schools and voiced the opinion that the language barrier between Indian and non-Indian was rapidly losing its importance. She stated that Indian children are now coming to school with at least a working knowledge of English, that evidence points *not toward language as the Indian's problem but toward sociological and psychological differences.*" (p. 18)
>
> "This committee agreed . . . that the Indian youth begins at about grade six or seven to identify himself or herself as a substandard citizen. This seems . . . to be the period when special attention and care must be taken to correct this impression and to provide a complete reorientation of this stage of adjustment." (p. 20)

If we can accept illustrations such as the foregoing as being indicative of at least one facet of the problem, what approaches might be attempted in an effort to find a solution—" . . . set a goal to enroll every four and five-year-old Indian child in a preschool program by 1971"? . . . "Make the Head Start Program available to 10,000 Indian children . . ."? "Establish, for the first time, kindergartens for 4,500 Indian youngsters next September."? (2) Without evidence to the contrary, it would appear to me that these well-intentioned programs will do little more than extend the present system of errors downward to the even younger child. An alternative approach, being developed at the present time by Bryde (7), would seem to have more than sufficient merit to warrant its being tried and evaluated experimentally:

> "The time and place to teach an Indian the cultural approach—how to use his values—should be at the time and place when he is most susceptible to learning,—when he is young and in school. Teaching an Indian child, from his first day in nursery school, how to use his Indian values in the modern, work-for-money world in which he must live, would equip him with functional, learned responses to cope with the crisis of cultural identification occurring at adolescence. He doesn't stop being Indian. He is more Indian than ever because he has learned how *to use* his values in a new setting. This approach harmonizes the cultural blocks presently negating the motivational assumptions underlying the offerings of vocational and liberal education. This program approaches the problem through the culture and system of rewards and punishments *of the Indian* and not of the non-Indian." (p. 4)

"*Relocation*"

In view of the educational difficulties encountered by Indian children, similar problems in adult vocational training (particularly in the Relocation Program) should come as no surprise. While evaluations of this program do not seem to be easily obtained, some inferential data are available from a relatively recent (1964) HEW publication (8). According to this report, from 1946 to 1964 some 70,000 young Indians have been enrolled in this program with "permanent placements" totaling 17,000. This proportion of placements does not appear to be particularly understanding and is somewhat misleading as well. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (unless policies on this point have recently been modified) drops from its rolls any relocated Indian after one year so that "permanent" would appear, to me, to be a potentially "temporary" condition—after one year.

The one study with which I have some familiarity, an unpublished census report on relocated Indians in Denver (9), seems to indicate numerous deficiencies in the program insofar as advance preparation for the trainee, his adjustment and integration into the urban community, and coordination of agencies which may assist him as an urban dweller are concerned. Questions and recommendations resulting from interviews of relocated Indians, persons with whom they came in contact, and representatives of appropriate agencies may be of interest:

Indian interviews

Would a welcoming committee made up of Indians be helpful in explaining where to go for jobs, catch a bus, find the BIA, hospitals, etc??

I was terribly lonesome at first (when relocated); I would like to see a meeting of Indians where we can state our problems; my family doesn't like the city; we want improved education for our children; having a hard time finding a place to live—turned down at two places, later white people moved in.

Rooming house/apartment managers

Loneliness and heavy drinking related; sober Indians are perfect gentlemen, but many get drunk and rowdy on pay day; landlady disappointed in Indian tenants, reports much theft, drinking, fighting, debt—she believes homesickness is a serious problem along with low pay, thinks they need kindness, but got little encouragement in trying to help them; landlady characterizes young Indian man who returned to the Reservation as "fine, honest, appreciative, sad, much alone."

Interviewers of Indians

All families interviewed were living in one or two room apartments—why?; majority interviewed say they are content, but show much loneliness and restlessness; most new arrivals suffer from minority inferiority complex, tend to spend their time in "dives" as they fear better places will not accept them—may also be why they tend to keep to themselves and become very isolated and alone; a definite need for a social center exists—they need a place to go and meet other Indian people.

Agency comments

BIA—"no special problems"; police department—757 arrests of Indians in 1962, 79% on charges of 'alcoholism'; many agencies report no particular problems that are distinctively 'Indian'; language barrier a major problem; 'unable to use buses since this requires their knowing more about the city than they usually do'; multiple problems such as low paying jobs, unsuitable housing, and ignorance of process for getting children enrolled in school—they are not prepared for city life; reaction to urban problems has been hostility, withdrawal from offers of help, and depression; Indians hard to establish caseworker relationships with—give only a few bare facts; Indians lack proper vocational counseling, have inferiority complex.

In view of observations such as these, can we expect meaningful results to obtain from a doubling of the appropriation of funds under the Indian Vocational Training Program, as requested in the President's Message without prior evaluation of present activities?

HEALTH

". . . there can be no question that the government and the people of the United States have a responsibility to the Indians."

"The health level of the American Indian is the lowest of any major population group in the United States . . ."

"I propose that the Congress increase health programs for Indians by about ten percent . . . with special emphasis on child health programs."

Since assuming the responsibility for Indian health in 1955, the efforts of the Public Health Service have been nothing less than heroic; the increased longevity of the Indian population is fully documented elsewhere and needs no further elaboration in this paper. In some areas, however, the gains have not been dramatic and in one, in particular, very little gain can be said to have occurred, now will it so long as the Division of Indian Health is so under-staffed in specialty physician competence to allow for such gains or, an even less likely occurrence, until governmental efforts favor prevention over rehabilitation.

The condition referred to is otitis media, infection of the middle ear. Among Indian and Native Alaskan children, this condition is of epidemic proportion. Its consequences are multiple since not only the health but the educability of the child is at stake. The disease, in these groups, typically is well established before the age of two years (for ⅔ of those who will suffer from the chronic condition), during the critical period of development for language learning. Coupled with the bilingual environment, the geographic isolation, and "cultural apathy" (in many instances) regarding health practices, the handicap placed upon the child is almost beyond belief. (10)

A measure of the extent of the problem, and some of its ramifications, is only possible through comparative statistics. Otitis media became a reportable condition in 1961, for Division of Indian Health purposes, and in 1964 was the most frequently reported disease (bearing in mind that the majority of cases are children). In Alaska it is quite consistently the second highest disease reported, immediately following respiratory infections. Even before it was a reportable disease, at least two reports (11) made by the Division of Indian Health made note of the problem: from the Crow Reservation in Montana; "Excessive pneumonia, trachoma and otitis media. An unusual number of persons with hearing difficulties." (p. 4, part 2), Navaho; "Clinical examination at Many Farms also revealed need for special care of ear infections . . ." (p. 7, part 4). More recent data from the Gallup Hospital, which serves a large portion of the Navaho Reservation, indicate that otitis media is the most common reportable disease from mid-fall to early summer. Children are reported to have the first episode, on the average, by the age of three months; the earliest reported case was at the age of one week. At the Chemawa Indian School, serving both Navahos and Alaskan Natives, 49% of the pupils are reported to have failed audiometric screening; Intermountain Indian School (Navaho) reported 49% to have failed initial audiometric screening. At Gallup, 20% of the children are reported to have active middle ear disease.

In South Dakota, audiometric tests indicate 25% of Sioux school children have evidence of past or present disease; 25% is the figure also reported for Blackfoot and Assiniboine-Gros Ventre children in Montana. On the basis of present data regarding the reliability of audiometry as a disease detection method, we may expect perhaps no more than half the children actually having the disease are being identified.

In Alaska, a public health nurse reports draining ears to be her most frustrating problem and indicates that 50% of the children she sees have a hearing loss of enough magnitude to be considered educationally significant. The hospital serving the Bethel area has found a fairly constant number of cases of middle ear disease over the past ten years. Two thirds of the reported cases are in the preschool age group; one third of the school population has chronic otitis media. A hearing evaluation of 176 school children in Bethel in 1966 revealed that only 51% of the children had normal hearing; in 25% of the cases, the loss was educationally significant.

The extent of the problem in Alaska is not, of course, limited to Bethel. Other studies have shown that 62% of all Eskimo children have a history of otorrhea (draining ears) and 65% of these present a history of multiple episodes—most of them before the age of one year. (12) Of all native children having repeated (and chronic) otitis media, two thirds have the first episode before one year of age and those having a history of episodes before the age of two are those most likely to suffer permanent hearing damage; again, at the time when adequate hearing is an absolute essential for language learning.

Against a problem of this magnitude, the resources to combat it are almost totally inadequate. The Division of Indian Health, like the rest of the Public Health Service, is not likely to have the capability for recruiting and keeping the specialist physicians necessary to even begin on the problem in the foreseeable future. As of this writing, the hospital in Gallup is without the services of a qualified otolaryngologist (ear, nose, and throat physician); these services at the Intermountain Indian School and the Chemawa Indian School are contracted for; at this time there is one qualified PHS otolaryngoloist to serve the native population in Alaska and as of one year ago his backlog on ears requiring surgery was in excess of 5,000 *known*. For those children surgically treated and who still have a loss of hearing, which is permanent, a hearing aid is necessary if the child is to approximate normal hearing. The fact that 34% of the natives in Alaska are known to have a hearing loss speaks to the severity of the problem; in the Bethel villages alone, 13% are known to have a *severe* loss of hearing. Leaving aside the observation that the children who finally have the necessary surgery and are still found to need help will be well beyond the age when a hearing aid could be of most assistance to them, there are only $6,000 available annually in Alaska, from source, for purchase of hearing aids. This means that, not counting the time and expense of flying a child to Anchorage (where al lthe hearing aid evaluations are done) and the routine maintenance and other expenses (such as batteries), no more than two dozen children *at most* can be provided with aids each year. In 1966, the Alaska Native Health Area Office in Anchorage referred 242 children for hearing evaluations.

But the problem does not stop here. Even if funds were available to provide every child in Alaska who needs one with a hearing aid, the problem of acceptance of the aid is critical. In the Bethel area, only 30 children are known to use a hearing aid and these were those enrolled in special classes for the hearing impaired. As of one year ago, by the way, the only two teachers of the deaf for the native population of Alaska were a married couple in Bethel.

The problem of hearing aid acceptance is not limited to Alaska, of course. Reactions against using an aid are reported from Intermountain Indian School and a pilot study in Arizona one year ago indicated that Navaho children and parents, while generally giving a "socially acceptable" response to projective test items and questions pertaining to hearing aid use, were not so accepting of the instrument if it applied to their own use of one.

Health problems of educational import are not related only to hearing loss, of course, so other findings may also be of interest: at Wrangell School, Alaska, 80% of the children enrolled are in need of eyeglasses; in Hooper Bay, Alaska, 45% of the school children were similarly in need of glasses, primarily for nearsightedness. Fourteen of every thousand native Alaskan children develop bacterial meningitis per year; one-third of these die, and 50% of the survivors are left with residual brain damage, and so forth.

Even if the Government did not acknowledge its responsibilities to the Indians generally, the moral commitment that would appear to go with increasing his life span through reductions in infant mortality would still be there. From the humanitarian viewpoint, it is wonderful that the Eskimo mother who used to have ten children in order to raise two to adulthood now raises eight of the ten. The glory of such an accomplishment however, is somewhat dimmed if we ask the question "Raise them for what?" To house all eight in a dwelling that was too small for two? To increase the drain on an already submarginal economy four-fold? To encourage their migration to the cities to become urban, rather than rural, slum dwellers? These questions, and more, can be asked for Indians in many parts of the country as well. The recommendation in the President's Message to pass legislation to give title to the Alaskan Natives for the lands they occupy is fine as a matter of public conscience. Since much of the land in question will not adequately support the current population, the relative priority of such legislation gives the clarion call for its passage a more than slightly hollow ring.

No less important, insofar as both human productivity and a threat to life are concerned, are the problems of mental health of our Indian citizens. The sources to document the extent of such conditions are extensive with a rather substantial body of literature on the subject which pertains the Sioux, alone. Bryde's (13) observations on the beginnings of such problems are of particular interest:

> "As the Sioux child begins to structure his world, he is immediately aware of two environments: the completely permissive environment of his home, and the hostile environment, right outside his door step, which is the white man's world. Within his home, he can get and do anything he wants. He is first made aware of the outside hostile environment when he hears . . . for the first time, the bogey man phrase that Sioux mothers use to frighten their children into conformity. 'Wasicu anigni kte.' 'A white man will get you and take you home.' (p. 8)
>
> "Individual autonomy: It is this dynamic in which the Sioux child suffers his severest behavioral consequences. His first awareness is of his own autonomy because he is always asked what he wants to do and makes his own decisions. His first awareness of a frustration of this drive is the 'wasicu anigni kte' phrase; hence, from his infancy, the only thwarting to this precious dynamic comes from the environment outside the home. This arouses hostility and it will last the rest of his life . . . This hostility will be depressed, but it will always be there. This frustration makes for constant blocking. The organism can stand it only so long, then there will be the inevitable acting out, which, as the child grows older, happens more and more frequently. (In South Dakota, although the Dakotas are only a fraction of the State population, 60% of the inmates in the State penitentiary are Indians.) Where drinking occurs, bouts of fighting and killing are commonplace. This individual autonomy drives the child mostly to self-gratification because there are no real objects of identification for self-actualization. It results in ego atrophy and further withdrawal.
>
> "Confronted with the white American dynamic of freedom for one's group and racial superiority, this only increases the hostility and frustration.

> Because of their historical background, the Sioux are the most proud of all the plains Indians. Their fierce pride remains today and they are deeply convinced that they are better than anyone else . . . Perceiving the white superiority attitude, they resent it greatly, and this increases the mounting frustration and hostility reflected in the behavior of children. From childhood, they begin to turn inward, defensive and hostile." (pp. 25–26)
>
> ". . . Public health doctors have stated that the number one health problem among the Dakotas today is that of mental health. (p. 31)
>
> "In the overall picture, regarding health task oriented participation, at one end of the continum and schizophrenia at the other end, one can see the Dakota child is forced to withdraw more and more and is increasingly pushed to the sinister end. He learns to live with it and function, but more and more in recent years has been pushed beyond the tolerance point.
>
> "These behavioral consequences are one of the great American tragedies, because these children are American too. They came by their dynamics sincerely, and have no place to practice them to come to full self-fulfillment." (p. 32)

The Sioux, of course, are not the only Indians who show the tendency to direct their hostilities inwardly rather than outwardly, with predictable results. At the risk of overgeneralization, the tendency may be seen for the majority of Indians. The extent to which such reactions also relate to suicide and excessive use of alcohol are not entirely conjectural. A recent news story quoting Dr. Larry Dizmang of the National Institute of Mental Health (14) emphasizes the tragedy behind the recent statistics which indicate that the suicide rate for Indian teenagers is four times the national average. Excessive use of alcohol is not only a chronic disease problem but is a contributing factor in many accidental deaths—a doubly significant problem in Alaska, where the leading cause of adult deaths is through accidents.

Along with these, other problems of considerably greater magnitude, another "mental health" problem, presumably related to cross-cultural stress, is that of stuttering among the Sioux. While extremely rare or nonexistent in most Indian groups, an incidence rate of 3% (found at Flendreau Indian School) is appreciably greater than that found in the non-Indian population, where it is no greater than .07%. In commenting upon possible reasons for this problem, Twitchell, *et al.*, speculate (15):

> "Bilingualism may pose special difficulties for the South Dakota Indians as the Indians seem to try to retain their identity as Indians and cling to the native tongue as part of their heritage. Many children begin school not knowing English and in some cases, fearing it. In the schools English is spoken almost altogether by the faculty members and older children. This conflict between parental and school authorities could hardly, leave the children completely unaffected." (pp. 9–10)

CONCLUSIONS

Only the most incorrigible optimist would dare say that the Federal Government "can no longer continue dealing with Indians as it has in the past"; obviously, the Government *can* and, in the absence of contradictory evidence, probably will maintain the established pattern of uncoordinated and fragmentary programs it has developed to date. A fresh set of platitudes disguised as "issues and answers" does little more than call attention to the continual lack of study, scholarship, and science which has characterized attacks on the "Indian problem" throughout our history. The contrasts between the glorious words ("partnership—not paternalism," "freedom of choice and self-determination," "respect for Indian culture," etc.) and the means by which the words are supposed to become acts (with special reference to the portions of the President's Message quoted throughout) leave me with little hope that "new ways to provide Federal assistance to Indians" (2) will result in any large number. This is not intended as a condemnation of the requested legislation—rather, it is a criticism that there appears to be very little coordination of the efforts proposed, little evaluation as to their relative need and no system for effective implementation. Perhaps, if we keep firing the shotgun into the air a duck really will fall out of the sky; the probability, however, is that the event will be more likely to occur if we first take aim. It would seem that, by now, with the resources and talent available to it, the Government (or at least this Department) might well take a comprehensive, scientific approach, first, to determine, define, and describe the problems and assess needs. Second, develop creative and innovative programs to serve these needs through coordination of various branches having responsibilities and interests in these problems. Third, implement these programs with sufficient flexibility to adjust for change. The one bright spot in the entire picture, to me, is the establishment of the Office for Indian Progress, which would appear to have the authority and mandate to do these things, and more.

To this group I would make several suggestions, admittedly limited but hopefully helpful, for their consideration:

1. Work for the establishment of an educational system that is structured around, and incorporates, the Indian child in the context of his home, family, and culture. This does not make for an easily developed educational system, but should make it more meaningful to the specific individual child-family-culture unit. To the extent that it is possible, the system should be extended to the surrounding non-Indian community as well. The child's assessment of himself is mirrored and reinforced through his non-Indian contacts; anything short of total community involvement would achieve less than maximum success. As Bryde (16) observed: "In cross cultural education, it is this value system of the minority group being educated, and not the value system of the dominant group doing the educating, that must be utilized as motivation for these students to become productive citizens of a pluralistic society . . . The reason for this is that the system of rewards and punishments (values) in one culture does not necessarily motivate members of another culture."

2. Work for activities which lead toward prevention of disabling diseases and its effects. A cost-benefit analysis of the amounts required to make prevention of otitis media more effective, for example, might well justify such a "radical" approach when compared with the amounts required to fit every Indian-Alaskan Native with hearing aids (which probably will not be worn, if present attitudes prevail) as well as provide the necessary special education involved. Why work for changing attitudes about hearing aids if the condition responsible for the majority of cases of hearing loss may be prevented?

3. Work for activities which lead to prevention of mental illness, in the context of the child and his family within their two cultures. How many anthropologists with NIMH support are investigating the dynamics of such problems? How does this compare with the number of psychiatrists concerned with those already ill? Are either number sufficient?

4. Work for activities which ead to the study and improvement of intercultural communication. Even if the English language had universal use among our Indian populations, the gulfs between the cultures and sub-cultures cannot be bridged by spoken language alone; the entire area on non-verbal communication remains relatively untouched, with the few studies that have concerned with this problem result in an ever-increasing demand for more study. At the same time, more interaction among Indian youths from different tribes at the college and high school level as well as with the American community-at-large would appear to be highly desirable. What benefits might be expected from the exposure such young people might have if short-term educational programs of this nature could be conducted in a variety of locations?

5. Work for a more realistic approach to adult education, particularly vocational training. The obvious aim of the Relocation Program seems to be just that—relocation, not education. It must not be an accident that the vocational training available is principally that which is appropriate to urban employment. Is there a real disadvantage in having vocational training that might be utilized in jobs on or near the reservation? How many auto body repair men, barbers, and beauticians are reservations able to support, in view of the large number of trainees who return? What needs of the relocation trainee are not being met in the city? How may his adjustment to urban life be facilitated? How may his integration into urban life be accomplished without at the same time devastating his own system of values?

6. Work for early involvement of newly-established Federal programs if their missions might apply to Indians as American citizens. The new National Center for Health Services Research and Development, for example, might well find Indian reservations and Alaskan villages ideal locations for validating new instruments, developing new health vocations (the native aides program in Alaska has already accomplished much which could be of immense value), developing and testing new systems for the delivery of health services (both "comprehensive" and "categorical"), evaluating quality and effectiveness of medical care, determining medical care service requirements, studying social and behavioral factors

in health care, etc. If health benefits should result as a by-product of such research endeavors, so much the better.

7. Work for the most obviously needed—and most obviously neglected—activity of evaluating Federal programs for Indians as they have existed in the past as well as those currently in effect and/or projected for the future. The current limitation on funds could prove to be a disguised blessing if it precipitated such an action which, in turn, necessitated the coordination of all activities, as mentioned above.

Regardless of the amounts expended to date to achieve whatever ends were proposed at the time, the Indians have successfully resisted concerted efforts aimed at their extermination/assimilation/termination/relocation. Perhaps the basic premise underlying these activities needs, at last, to be looked at critically and replaced by one that is realistic and workable.

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A Model for the Improvement of Indian Education: the California Indian Education Association

Jack D. Forbes

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PREFACE

The author has been closely involved with the development of the California Indian Education Association (formerly known as the Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education) and, therefore, his objectivity may be subject to some question. Nonetheless, it is felt that this report on California Indian education and the work of the C.I.E.A. will be of some value to those concerned with Indian-native education generally.

It is perhaps especially difficult for an applied anthropologist to report on his "research" since the latter, if truly "applied," directly involves his own participation not merely as an observor but also as an "actor." An applied anthropologist cannot, in all probability, be dispassionate as regards a project which he has become intimately associated with. Indifference and "scholarly aloofness" are perhaps incompatible with a successful application of anthropological knowledge.

The author must also apologize for the references to himself found in the following pages, but a description of events necessary for understanding the process under discussion seems to require such a procedure.

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IX. Conclusions

INTRODUCTION*

The native people of California are the victims of an especially harsh series of armed conquests which reduced their numbers from perhaps 200,000 in 1769 to 100,000 in 1848 and from the latter to less than 20,000 by 1880. Such a conquest, where within the span of one generation a population is reduced by 80%, produces traumatic socio-psychological results, and this is especially true when the survivors are forced for several additional generations to live as members of a legally inferior class systematically deprived of wealth and afforded little protection from almost every conceivable form of exploitation and denigration.

That California Indian people have endured and have increased in numbers once again (numbering between 30,000 and 50,000 today) is testimony enough to their courage and stamina. That they have also preserved a substantial, albeit variable, amount of their pre-invasion cultural legacy in the face of systematic efforts to destroy that heritage is testimony to the value of what they have to share with their fellow Californians of today.

Conquered peoples, and especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors, spatially where possible, and inwardly (psychologically) almost universally. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to often be categorized as apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Alcoholism and excessive personalistic factionalism seem to typify such defeated, powerless populations, and individuals exhibit signs of possessing serious inferiority complexes and a weak or negative sense of personal identity. This style of behavior tends not to be greatly ameliorated by paternalistic-elitist reform or welfare programs which may subsequently be administered by the dominant population, perhaps because such programs serve simply to reinforce a sense of inferiority and incapacity.

It may well be that a conquered population can be truly liberated from the state of being conquered and powerless only through a process of self-liberation wherein the people in question acquire some significant measure of control over their own destiny. As a part of this process, a conquered people must acquire some control over the various mechanisms which serve to develop or to destroy that sense of personal inner security and pride which is essential for successful participation in socio-political affairs. All forms of education, including that which derives from the home, the community and mass media are crucial in this connection.

The present vigor of the California Indian Education Association represents a significant step forward in the California Indian people's struggle for psychological liberation. It represents an effort to come to grips with those educational forces which, too often in the past, have either been hostile, devastatingly paternalistic, or indifferent to the

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* From Jack D. Forbes' "Introduction" In California Indian Education (Modesto: Ad Hoc Committee, 1967).

Indian individual. The California Indian people are attempting, through this effort, to gain some measure of influence over their own destiny and of the destiny of their children. By so doing, they are liberating themselves from the negative self-images forced upon them by the conquest, are helping to insure that their children will not be victims of such negative self-images, and, in addition, that all California education will be improved through the enrichment represented by the native legacy of this state.

II. Background: The General Conditions Surrounding Indian Education*

American Indians, although the target for numerous educational and training programs for 100 to 300 years (depending upon the locality), show evidence of serious societal problems. For example, Indians are the ethnic group with the lowest income in the United States, the median income for families on reservations standing at about $1,500 (as compared with the $3,000 level often cited as being needed for a subsistence standard of living). Not surprisingly, approximately 40 to 50% of adult Indian males on reservations are either unemployed or idle and of those who are employed, one half possess only temporary jobs. Comparable statistics do not exist for urban Indians but observational studies indicate a high unemployment-idleness rate as well as high mobility from job to job (William H. Kelly, "Social and Cultural Considerations in the Development of Manpower Programs for Indians," 1967 speech).

Being poor, Indian communities ordinarily possess substandard housing, inadequate sanitation, impure or insufficient water, and inadequate recreational and study facilities. In addition, rural Indians are almost totally cut off from such educational institutions as libraries, museums, art galleries and adult education evening schools. Urban Indians,although geographically proximate to such facilities, seldom are aware of their existence or oriented towards their use.

Being a conquered population, American Indians also exhibit the tendency towards suicide, alcoholism, and petty crimes of violence and property ordinarily evident among conquered, psychologically depressed populations. As Omer Stewart has pointed out:

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* Adapted from Jack D. Forbes, "The Multi-Cultural Education Program," February 26-27, 1968, ms., Far West Laboratory.

> For the nation as a whole, the rate of Indian criminality is nearly seven times that of the national average. Nationally the Indian rate for all types of arrests is nearly three times that of Negroes and about eight times that of whites.... Drunkenness alone counted for 71% of all Indian arrests reported in 1960.

The Indian alcoholism problem is illustrated by the fact that arrests connected with alcohol were proportionally twelve times as high for Indians as for the national average and five times as high as for blacks. Most Indian criminality occurs in an urban setting and the urban Indian crime rate is twenty-four times that of the rural Indian crime rate. The urban Indian arrest rate for alcohol-related crimes is thirty-seven times that of whites and fifteen times that of Negroes. Non-alcohol urban Indian arrest rates are twice that of blacks and six times that of the population as a whole. That this urban problem is not simply one of rural Indians visiting the city is illustrated by Denver, where the Indian crime rate is proportionally five times that of blacks and four times that of Mexican-Americans (Omer C. Stewart, "Questions Regarding American Indian Criminality," Human Organization, Spring, 1964).

Suicide rates are very high among many Indian groups (especially among youth), a phenomenon often typical of conquered or depressed populations. Alcoholism may, of course, also be viewed in individual cases as a form of suicide (see Larry H. Diznang, "Suicide Among the Cheyenne Indians," Bulletin of Suicidology, July 1967).

All of the above phenomena may be viewed as symptomatic of widespread educational failure, since any educational system whose alumni are poverty-stricken, "idle," and psychologically disoriented in the extreme can hardly be perceived as being successful. More to the point (as regards schooling) are the observed facts that a) those Indians most exposed to white influences, including education, are the most likely to become unstable individuals, alcoholics, or unemployable because of poor work habits, and b) that those Indian communities most exposed to white contact and education tend to be the least viable in terms of organization, socio-political development, and capability at planning and carrying out complex activities.

While the effectiveness of any educational system must ultimately be measured by the calibre of individuals it produces and by the kind of society which they collectively create, it nonetheless is possible to gain further insight into the educational problems of American Indians by noting the extent to which pupils "drop out" of school. It is estimated that the high school "drop-out" rate for Indians nationally is 50 to 60% while individual school districts or communities (including ones in California) range as high as 85% or even 100% for some years. This "drop-out" rate often commences rapidly after entrance into high school, as at the Oglala Community High School on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation where 35% of the rural Indian pupils leave school during their first year (Rosalie H. Wax, "The Warrior Dropouts," Trans-action, May 1967).

In view of the fact that virtually all schools attended by Indians possess an Anglo-American or "middle-class" orientation it is not at all surprising that Indian pupils tend to do poorly in school, falling behind grade-level norms either from the first grade in some cases, or by the upper elementary grades almost universally. Similarly, achievement and "intelligence" tests, biased as they are in the direction of Anglo-American middle-class youth, can be expected to, and do, reveal low achievement scores for pupils of Indian origin. Indian or part-Indian individuals most exposed to white culture tend, of course, to score better on these tests, but at the same time they tend to come from more unstable homes and are evidently the most likely candidates for personal instability in later years.

In summary, then, the conditions surrounding Indians make them a high priority group as a focus for new educational approaches. Indians possess the greatest poverty, highest unemployment, and highest crime rates of any ethnic minority in the United States, are at least as disadvantaged in normal measures of school success as any other group, and probably are more socially disorganized and psychologically disoriented than any other minority.

III. Conditions Relating to California Indian Education*

California Indians have ordinarily been the victims of poverty and discrimination, both induced, tragically, largely through the actions of the federal government and other white agencies. The period since the 1920's has unfortunately witnessed only a very gradual and, in some cases, negligible change in Indian material conditions of life. In great measure, California Indians have been victimized by a federal policy which has not only been hostile in the sense of seeking to acquire native land, suppress native culture, and rigidly control native affairs but also in the sense of positively discriminating against California groups within the context of federal Indian programs. That is, the federal government has tended to "short-change" the small tribes and groups of the Far West in relation to the range of services made available to the larger tribes found elsewhere. In great measure this continuing pattern of discrimination stems from the earlier failure to establish large, viable reserves for most far western Indians.

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* Adapted from Jack D. Forbes, Native Americans of California and Nevada: A Handbook (Berkeley: Far West Laboratory, 1968).

California Indians have also continued to suffer from many of the same kinds of discrimination experienced by other poor, non-white groups. The most blatant forms of racism would appear to have largely disappeared in recent years, but many Indians have experienced police brutality, hostile justice courts, discriminatory landlords, and prejudiced employers. Additionally, of course, Indian people suffer daily from the anti-Indian or stereotypical nature of television "westerns," and from the general pro-white bias of the communication media and advertising.

California Indians in 1960 constituted that portion of the California population with the lowest income and highest unemployment rates. Indian males, on a statewide basis, possessed a median income of $2,694 (as compared with $3,553 for blacks and over $5,000 for whites), while 13.4% of males over 25 earned less than $1,000, 31.6% earned less than $2,000, 45.2% earned less than $3,000, and 74.8% earned less than $5,000. Thus at least one-half of California Indians were below the "poverty-level" statistically, although this is an under-estimate because Indian families were much larger than the average (25.4% were composed of seven or more persons as compared with 12.9% for all non-whites and 4.9% for whites). "Rural Farm" (i.e., reservation) Indian males had a median income of $1,769 (as compared with $3,298 for whites).

Statewide Indian unemployment in 1960 was 15.1% for males (as compared with 12.7% for blacks and less than 5% for whites), while unemployment was even higher in rural areas as in the Trinity-Klamath region (21.7% for males). (American Indians in California, State Department of Industrial Relations, 1965).

In recent years new problems have arisen due to the fact that sizeable numbers of California Indians have migrated to urban areas. More significant still has been the almost-forced migration of tens of thousands of out-of-state Indians into the San Francisco-San Jose and Los Angeles areas thanks to a modern "trail of tears" known as the Relocation Program. Relocation was commenced during the reactionary period of the 1950's as a device for reducing population on overcrowded reservations, as a partial substitute for an unwillingness to spend money for on-reservation development, as a means to encourage "assimilation," and as a means for improving the income of individual Indians. The program has been highly praised and severely criticized but, in any event, it has had the effect of contributing heavily to the growth of urban Indian populations and has made many natives into virtual commuters between reservation and city. Perhaps as many as one-third of the relocatees give up and return home while still others move back and forth, being relocated several times in some cases.

There is no question but what it is a traumatic experience for rural, tribally-oriented people to be moved, not to the nearest small city, but to the very heart of a modern metropolis, especially when the counseling afforded the relocatees is marginal at best. Then the relocatee is placed in a job (any job, literally) after, perhaps, some brief training (which may or may not be related to his first job) and for a few weeks he receives minimal financial assistance. Thereafter, he is on his own in a strange city and, not surprisingly, a high proportion end up on "skid row" or as local welfare recipients (in many respects it can be said that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is contributing directly to the increased welfare expenses of our urban complexes). Innumerable personal tragedies occur, hidden beneath a mountain of statistics relating the number of initial jobs which have been secured, et cetera.

On the other hand, many relocatees are able to gradually adjust to the city, thanks in great measure to another new phenomena, the appearance of urban "Indian centers" and "friendship houses." Whatever fellowship is to be found (aside from the many bars catering principally to Indians), whatever counseling is to be secured, whatever social life is available, is usually in association with one of these Indian centers or with the clubs which have grown out of them. These valuable organizations, so essential to whatever success the relocation program has had, receive little support from the BIA and other federal agencies. This has been, in part, a beneficial circumstance because it has allowed most such centers to come under Indian control.

Joining the relocatees have been thousands of self-relocated Indians, individuals whose personal experiences have led them to seek greater opportunity in the city. It would appear that the self-relocated individuals adjust better to urban life in spite of having to obtain their own first jobs, pay their own bus fare and obtain their own housing.

IV. California Indian Education, 1920-1967

Between the 1920's and early 1940's the Bureau of Indian Affairs ceased to have any appreciable role in California Indian education, thanks in great measure to Indian efforts to establish local public schools or to gain admittance to existing schools. This latter was facilitated by the case of Piper v. Big Pine School District (1924) in which Indians won the right to attend public schools.*

Unfortunately, the public school movement failed to yield the results anticipated by the more optimistic, especially where the schools were controlled by white individuals basically hostile towards the Indian heritage and prejudiced against native pupils. Prior to World War II it was rare indeed for an Indian to graduate from high school in California. A college education was simply beyond the realm of possibility during that period and the number of college graduates can be literally counted on one hand.

The post-war period witnessed some improvement but not primarily due to any change in the schools as such. Anti-Indian personal prejudice did decline but basically the public schools, now increasingly under white control, retained the same mono-cultural Anglo-American curriculum as in earlier years. History was white history, literature was Anglo or European literature, music was in the European tradition, art was Anglo-European, cooking was white cooking, serving was white serving, crafts were white crafts, and so on. Needless to state, no effort was made (and none has ever been made)to teach any California Indian language in any school below the college level (although the Indian-controlled Kashia Reservation Elementary School is currently teaching a few words of the Kashia language). English language instruction was almost always designed for the pupil from a middle-class English-speaking home.

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* It should be noted that the majority of Indian pupils in the United States now attend white-controlled public schools.

In spite of these handicaps native Indian pupils, stimulated by the pressure of exceptional parents or teachers, began to graduate from high school in larger numbers after World War II and this, in turn, has made it possible today for college graduates to number about two score and college students to number in the dozens.

The majority of Indians have not, however, been able to advance beyond the upper years of high school on the average, and in some areas few still advance beyond the junior high school level. In 1954 a field worker for the American Friends Service Committee in northern California reported:

> The drop-outs of Indian students appear to be generally high in those counties in which Indians form a sizeable proportion of the county population.... Drop-outs do not seem to occur on an unusual level in the elementary schools but begin to develop as students go on up through the high school. Very few Indian students go on to commercial, vocational, or college training .... As examples, of approximately 100 Indian students who entered Ukiah Union High School in the five years ending in 1952 only two were graduated.... In Round Valley one elementary school is entirely Indian, the white parents of that district do not allow their children to attend this school and recent attempts to unify with the adjacent white school have met with defeat on the basis of the racial issue. (Letters of Frank A. Quinn in Progress Report.. by the Senate Interior Committee on California Indian Affairs, 1955, pp. 56, 58).

The 1960 census revealed that 43.3% of the Indians in California 14 years and older had not gone beyond the eighth grade (as compared with 25% for whites and 36% for blacks), that only 56.7% had completed one or more years of high school, that only 7.6% of males had completed one or more years of college (as compared with 12.7% for blacks, and over 25% for whites), and that only 1.8% of males had completed four or more years of college (as compared with 5.5% for all non-whites and 10.7% for whites).

The median school years completed for all Indian males in California was 9.7 (as compared with 10.6 for non-whites and 11.7 for the total population). The rural Indian median was, however, much lower (probably 8.9 or less) while the urban median was about 10.6 (as compared with 10.7 for non-whites and 12.0 for the total population). (American Indians in California, 1965).

Indians would appear to have been receiving two years less schooling than the California population as a whole in 1960, and probably two and one-half years less than the white population. Still further, Indians and Mexican-Americans were at the bottom of the educational ladder among minorities, with the Mexican-Americans pulling ahead of Indians at the college level. The 1966 report of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs summarized conditions by stating that

> few Indian students finish high school, few attend college and many who have graduated from high school receive an inferior education because of a lack of teacher concern or the failure of the school system to devise compensatory teaching techniques to cope with students of differing cultural backgrounds. (Progress Report to the Governor and the Legislature by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs on Indians in Rural and Reservation Areas, February 1966).

The report also cited a master's thesis as follows (A Survey of Comparative Achievement and Scholarship Records of California Indian Children in the Auburn Public Schools" by Betty Faye Lund, Sacramento State College, 1963):

> Lund, the author of this report, surveyed the records of 46 of 60 Indian students who attended Auburn public schools in the past 10 years. She drew heavily from her experiences as a teacher in the same school system and from personal knowledge of the students and their families.

> Two important findings reported in this study by Lund are high dropout and truancy rates. She found a dropout rate of 50 percent for students in grades 9 through 14 (two years of junior college). This rate was constant for students living on the reservation, for those living off the reservation, and for both male and female students. The percentage of dropouts during the 9th year (40 percent) is less than during the age of 16. Dropout rates are 50 percent during the 11th year and 33 percent for the 12th year. The only student who attended junior college dropped out during the second year because of failing grades and poor attendance. Sixty-one percent of the group were reported as consistently having low reading scores on achievement tests throughout their school years, 30 percent had repeated one or more grades, 61 percent had extremely poor attendance records, and 37 percent were consistently truant.

Thus it is apparent that the 1960's found California's more than 100,000 Indian people still suffering from rather marked educational problems, comparable to those of most other Indian groups residing in the United States and Canada.

V. The Initial Development of the Ad Hoc Committee

The California Legislature, thanks largely to the efforts of Senator Stephen P. Teale, responded to the state of Indian education by funding a Conference for Teachers of California Indian Pupils at Stanislaus State College in March 1967. This conference probably would have been as unproductive as the vast majority of so-called Indian education meetings held in the United States (which are usually white-controlled, white-planned conferences attended largely by non-Indians), since the responsibility for the effort was at first entirely in the hands of a non-Indian professor (whose approach was to involve primarily the BIA and white educators). Fortunately, however, David Risling, Jr., a Hoopa instructor at Modesto Junior College, learned of the project and threatened to mobilize opposition to the meeting unless Indians were involved in the planning.

Thereafter a new director (Dr. Walter McClintock) and a committee including Risling, Kay Black and other Indians developed a totally new plan. Several Indian members of the committee had heard the author lecture on Indian-white relations in a University of California Extension course on "Indians of the Far West" during the previous October. They felt that this writer would be able to essentially repeat his speech, which emphasized the kind of experiences (such as conquest and colonialism) which had helped to create the contemporary conditions faced by Indian people. They were also familiar with the work of Dr. Robert Roessel at Rough Rock Demonstration School and Dr. Edward Dozier at the University of Arizona. Forbes and Dozier, both of Indian descent, and Roessel (married to a Navajo) thus were chosen as the principal "catalytic" speakers.

The conference was planned so as to include Indian parents and leaders as well as school administrators, counselors, and teachers. Forbes served as the "kick-off' speaker, very frankly setting forth the brutality of the white invasion and the debilitating effects of conquest (while at the same time noting the assets of the traditional Indian heritage). Workshops followed, with an exposition of the Rough Rock development by Dr. Roessel and a panel discussion. Dr. Dozier concluded with a talk on those aspects of the Indian cultural legacy having a direct impact upon classroom behavior.

Several things became apparent during the course of the conference. First, it was clear that the Indian people had not yet become familiar with all of the options available in minority education and often, therefore, could not set forth a specific desired course of action. Second, it was clear that mixed groups including verbal and occasionally opinionated non-Indians tended to increase confusion, although this was not true of all of the workshop groups. Third, while most of the Indians present were proud of being Indian and had positive feelings as regards the "Indian heritage," one or two present were alienated from the latter and were rather insecure in terms of identity. In short, the Indian group had not had prior opportunities to resolve their own differences and overcome some of the psychological effects of conquest. Fourth, there was concern that the general consensus gradually developing among most of the participants towards the end of the conference might not be reflected in the conference report and that no action would result from the said report.

During the course of the conference it was suggested (by Forbes and others) that the California Indian people in attendance perhaps should hold an all-Indian meeting in order to consider developing an Indian education association. Many were perhaps considering the same possibility and the result was an evening meeting where the all-Indian "Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education" was organized as a temporary group with David Risling as acting chairman. The immediate purposes of the organization were to edit the conference report and to plan for an all-Indian statewide education conference.

The report issued as a result of the Stanislaus Conference contained many useful recommendations, including ones favoring increased Indian involvement in education, the convening of an Indian education conference, and calling for the development of California Indian-oriented courses for teachers and Indians in the universities and colleges of the state. But the Stanislaus report was not comprehensive, nor did it have the backing of a large enough group of Indians to make it a truly powerful tool for bringing about change.

Beginning with the editing of the Stanislaus report the author served as a resource person for the Ad Hoc Committee, in addition to speaking at meetings. The approach used was based upon an interpretation of the principles of "action anthropology" (helping people to become aware of previously unfamiliar optional courses of action and of the historical and cultural bases for educational problems) and community development theory (focusing upon the necessity for Indian control of the change process in Indian education).

A very important aspect of the author's decision to work with the Ad Hoc Committee as an approach to improving Indian education (rather than promoting some type of "model school" or "demonstration school" development) was due to an increasing conviction that an Indian people, as a group, had to be masters of any such program and that such mastery would have to be dependent upon prior organizational efforts within the Indian community. This in turn was perceived as being dependent upon a process of "psychological liberation" from colonialist-induced apathy and inferiority complexes, as well as upon the acquisition of information relating to the possible results of organized activity in the field of Indian education.

This viewpoint is set forth more specifically as follows (taken from a proposal for a new program suggested for the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development).

> The proposed approach seeks to facilitate the development of community-relevant and community-responsive educational programs which will be multi-cultural by virtue of their response to the multi-cultural realities of the communities which they serve. The emphasis of this approach is not, however, to be placed upon direct intervention in the classroom but rather upon attacking the problems of minority education at a more fundamental level. That is, the program will seek to create the kinds of attitudes on the

> part of both parents and professionals which will make possible the development and successful operation of community-responsive, multi-cultural programs by both formal and informal educational agencies.
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> The reasons for avoiding direct, immediate intervention in, for example, a demonstration school type of approach are partly set forth below. Several overall factors of importance should, however, be stressed here. First, the entire theoretical and empirical framework which undergirds the community-responsive approach to education would seem to be contradicted by an elitist intervention prior to extensive community-involvement. It is probably not possible to construct a multi-cultural curricula which adequately reflects the realities of a given community without utilizing the community itself in the development process, since a significant part of the "reality" referred to above includes the aspirations and priorities of the people themselves.
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> Still further, ... the overcoming of "powerlessness" and "alienation," an important objective of community-responsive and multi-cultural education, doubtless cannot be accomplished by an approach which is elitist and which denies the minority community a meaningful role in early planning and development.
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> Finally, it is now generally agreed that adults from minority communities should at least possess the same powers and the same involvement vis a vis the public schools as do middle-class Anglo-Americans. Unfortunately, people who have in the past regarded formal education as being beyond their range of influence and who have, due to conquest or powerlessness, become withdrawn or apathetic, cannot ordinarily be brought into a state of involvement merely by structural reforms administered from above. Community development experience would seem to indicate that they must be, first, psychologically liberated (to some degree at least) from negative self-images and, second, be informed of the various options which might be available to them were they to become involved.

Several other persons, notably Dr. McClintock of Stanislaus State College and Frederic Gunsky of the Bureau of Inter-Group Relations, California State Department of Education, made themselves available to the Ad Hoc Committee as needed, serving principally as observors but also providing technical information relating to state and federal educational programs.

The extent of involvement by "experts" or scholars in the development of the Ad Hoc Committee should not be overemphasized, however. The Indian members of the Committee from the very beginning proved themselves to be the major element in the success of the movement and what assistance was received should be seen as merely being an occasional supplement to the steady in-put of the membership.

VI. The Ad Hoc Committee, 1967 - 1968

Detailed information on the development, organization and activities of the Ad Hoc Committee during 1967 is fully set forth in California Indian Education: The Report of the All-Indian Conference. During 1967 the committee, under the chairmanship of Risling, proceeded to hold numerous regional meetings designed to involve large numbers of Indians in an educational movement and to prepare for a state-wide conference. The several meetings held by the committee (at Modesto, North Fork, Toulumne, Soboba, Crescent City, Ukiah, and elsewhere)had a stimulating effect upon the Indian people of California and served to "unleash" a great reservoir of energy which has since been put to work in many fields other than education. These meetings also served to prove that Indian people could create an organization without factional or personalistic in-fighting.

This latter point is especially significant, in view of the oft-repeated assertion by non-Indians involved in Indian affairs that "Indians cannot get together and agree on anything." The Ad Hoc Committee was able to create a unified organization, in all probability, because of the following circumstances: (1) as an all-Indian movement, excluding whites from decision-making roles, and not being dependent upon white favors, the Ad Hoc Indian people were free from those influences derived from the non-Indian world which often enhance or even create Indian factionalism; (2) Speakers at meetings repeatedly pointed out the causes of factionalism and how the latter is often a symptom of conquest and colonialization: (3) Risling and others repeatedly stressed unity and the necessity of excluding differences of opinion (and old feuds) based on non-educational issues from education-related discussions; and (4) education was a new field of activity, with no previous history of factional rivalry.

Plans for a statewide all-Indian conference were perfected in the spring and summer of 1967. The author and representatives of the committee arranged for a grant of $5,050 from the Rosenberg Foundation to finance the conference and pay for the cost of the distribution of a report, with the funds being held by the Laboratory (since the Ad Hoc Committee was not yet an incorporated non-profit group). It was fortunate indeed that Mrs. Jackson Chance, executive secretary, and the trustees of the foundation had developed a philosophy of insisting upon minority-involvement in minority-related projects and of supporting unique, pace-setting projects.

The conference, held in October in North Fork, California, was convened in school buildings donated by the North Fork Union Elementary School District, with dormitory and camping space available. Every effort was made to diminish expenses for the participants, including providing many free meals and "gas money." Local Indian people, along with other committee members, did virtually all of the work connected with the preparation of food, et cetera. The conference was entirely planned by Indian people, from beginning to end.

The North Fork Conference brought together about 200 Indians who thoroughly analyzed the problems involved in Indian education. The conference proceedings, including numerous specific recommendations, were then edited and published as California Indian Education: The Report of the All-Indian Statewide Conference. This represented an extremely significant step forward since the North Fork Conference was the first all-Indian

Indian-controlled conference on education ever held anywhere in the United States and California Indian Education is the first comprehensive statement dealing with education ever prepared by a large and representative group of Indian people.

Basically, the North Fork Conference called for increased Indian involvement at all levels of the educational process. It especially emphasized the role of the Indian family and community in the education of children and advocated the development of Indian-directed out-of-school educational projects. Stress was placed upon the value of the native heritage and the schools were called upon to transform their curriculum so as to insure that an Indian element existed in all aspects of the school's program.

The North Fork Conference also called for the restoration of BIA-removed Johnson-O'Malley funds (with the proviso that they be used to advance the quality of Indian education under the direction of a panel of Indians), for Indian participation in the control of BIA schools, for the development of Indian-oriented higher education programs, and for Indian membership on the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs.

The published report, California Indian Education, has been widely distributed, as follows:

1. The Laboratory paid for the printing of 1600 copies and distributed them to more than 450 libraries in California and Nevada, to every Indian publication and major organization in the United States, to every California congressman, to all members of Congress concerned with education and Indian affairs, to many state legislators, to numerous college

and university professors, to key people in the U.S. Office of Education, and to teachers and school officials.

2. The Ad Hoc Committee purchased (with Rosenberg grant funds) 4400 copies, most of which have been distributed to Indian adults, legislators, and school personnel.

The response to California Indian Education has been excellent indeed. Dr. Rosemary Mylecraine, head of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Indian Education program, regards it as the most significant current publication available on Indian education. California Indian Education has been in great demand as a teacher training tool and has been used as a "text" in college classes at several colleges in California.

Most significantly of all, California Indian Education is regarded as "their" book by California Indian people because it is the product of their thinking and sets forth their viewpoints.

During 1968 the Ad Hoc Committee built upon the work of the previous year by 1) publishing a newsletter to further stimulate Indian involvement in education; 2) holding small meetings in local areas, as at Susanville, Auburn, Greenville, and elsewhere; 3) sponsoring, with local people, a most successful conference at Hoopa in February which drew about 1,000 persons; 4) sponsoring a successful conference in Oakland in May which drew 500 people and which was designed to introduce non-Indian school personnel to the Indian viewpoint; 5) developing a constitution for the permanent California Indian Education Association; 6) sharing the California Indian experience with out-of-staters, as at an Indian education conference at Tempe, Arizona (the Ad Hoc Committee was not initially invited to the Arizona State University conference but upon learning of it copies of the North Fork report were mailed to many participants and others were distributed by representatives who later went to the gathering); 7) sponsoring, with the Pit River Tribe, a very successful conference at McArthur in October, attended by about 1,000 persons; and 8) holding the second-annual statewide meeting at Riverside on November 29-December 1 and officially creating the California Indian Education Association. (This conference was supported, in part, by a second grant of $1,750 from the Rosenberg Foundation).

The successes of the Ad Hoc Committee as a movement for the revitalization of Indian communities and for educational change cannot be understood by general statements such as the above. The various conferences have tended to generate a spirit of pride, brotherhood, and enthusiasm difficult to convey to those who were not in attendance.

By way of example, the Hoopa conference took place in a community notable for factionalism, inter-family rivalries, negative self-images, and a completely white-oriented public school system. Although the Hoopa Valley people (including Hoopas, Karoks, Yuroks, and tribally-mixed persons) have preserved more of their old heritage than most California Indians, this has been largely due to the efforts of a few unusual individuals. The average Indian tended to have very ambivalent feelings about his Indianness and to be passive as regards the undertaking of any positive cultural, economic or political activities.

A small group of Hoopa Valley people had, however, become actively involved in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and they formed a local group which planned and operated the conference. They obtained use of the high school gymnasium, the central portion of which (facing a stage) was set-up as an auditorium. The other portions of the large room were filled with outstanding displays of northwestern California Indian arts, crafts, and historical materials, including both ancient and modern art forms. These displays had an obvious effect upon the audience, demonstrating as they did the unquestionable skill of the local Indian people, and the striking richness of the native heritage.

The program for the conference included speakers who emphasized Indian self-development as well as native singing and dancing. The latter created considerable enthusiasm, which resulted in more extemporaneous singing and dancing later in the evening. The whole effect was one of quite obvious pride and exhilaration.

The formal portion of the program was followed by a feast featuring Indian foods from northwestern California (eel, salmon, surffish, seaweed, acorn-mush, venison, fried bread, etc). The food was excellently prepared and very delicious.

All of the participants felt so good after the feast that the program simply continued on and on, with much extemporaneous speaking, dancing, and singing. Although the crowd of 1,000 attending during the day included a substantial proportion of non-Indians, the evening group of several hundred was predominantly Indian.

The Hoopa Conference was not an end-in-itself. Rather it served to set off a chain of events which has come to include the setting up of a Headstart program, the initiating of a community-operated course in the Hoopa language (and the development of an alphabet), increased attendance of Indians at college, the establishment of an Indian club at the nearest junior college, increased interest in native dances, arts, and crafts, the setting up of a tribal education committee, the development of an Indian teacher-training program at Humboldt State College, and a greatly increased interest in education generally and in tribal self-development.

Other conferences and meetings have had similar effects, some of which will be summarized below.

VII. The Accomplishments of the California Indian Education Movement

A number of direct and indirect results of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee can be identified, in spite of the fact that the movement is not yet two years old:

1. The California Legislature adopted a resolution urging the restoration of Johnson-O'Malley funds for California Indian education. The California congressional delegation also endorsed this proposal.

2. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has restored many programs for California Indians including educational scholarships and the right to attend BIA special schools. In addition, the Bureau has been "studying" the restoration of Johnson-O'Malley funds, with a favorable decision anticipated.

3. The Sacramento office of the BIA has added an adult education specialist to its roster of positions.

4. The Kashia Reservation Elementary School District has received Follow Through funding from the U.S. Office of Education.

5. The late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Senator Paul Fannin held

hearings on Indian education in San Francisco in January 1968 and several Ad Hoc members were able to testify. California Indian Education became a part of the record of those proceedings.

6. Many educators and school personnel were exposed to new viewpoints, not only at conferences such as those at Hoopa, Ukiah, and Oakland, but also because Dr. Forbes was invited to hold workshops or lecture at Ukiah High School, Fresno State College, San Francisco State College, a State Department of Employment minority counselors' conference, and two State Department of Public Health Indian community health workers' training sessions directly as a result of the Ad Hoc efforts. In connection with the Riverside conference Forbes taught a course on "California Indian Education in Cultural-Historical Perspective" attended by perhaps one hundred Indians and non-Indians.

7. The Hoopa Educational Conference, a direct result of Ad Hoc efforts, reached some 1000 persons and created a dynamic exhibition of Indian competence in arts, crafts, music, and leadership.

8. David Risling and other members of the Ad Hoc have made presentations before new groups of Indians and non-Indians throughout California and in Arizona as well.

9. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Indian Education section has been greatly influenced by California Indian Education and hopes to have Ad Hoc members help other Indians from all over the nation develop similar programs.

10. A Headstart program developed at Hoopa this year was made successful in great measure because of the local Ad Hoc group.

11. In cooperation with Humboldt State College, northwestern area Ad Hoc members have developed an Educational Professional Development Act proposal designed to identify potential teachers of Indian descent at the high school level and provide them with the assistance necessary to enable them to become practicing teachers. This EDPA proposal has now been approved to begin in 1969. It will be governed by an all-Indian board.

12. Dr. Forbes has completed the writing of Native Americans of California and Nevada: A Handbook (for the Laboratory). This monograph has benefited directly from the ideas generated by Indian people at Ad Hoc-sponsored meetings and conferences.

13. A student group concerned with Indian affairs at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has become interested in Indian education because of the Ad Hoc Committee and is now developing a proposal to persuade the university system to implement some of the recommendations in California Indian Education. Similar developments, designed to create Indian Studies' programs, are underway also at other university campuses. The California Indian Education Association, successor to the committee, has created a Higher Education Committee to supervise such projects.

14. The Donner Foundation has funded an American Indian Community University Pilot Project, designed to sponsor Indian-designed and Indian-taught courses in areas where Indian people live. This project is being operated by the Laboratory under the guidance of the C.I.E.A.

15. The Rosenberg Foundation has funded a California Indian Educational Development project which will subsidize the publication of a periodical by the C.I.E.A.and the preparation of materials needed in the teaching of Indian culture and history.

16. The C.I.E.A. has sponsored a proposal to train higher education personnel for working with Indian students, the project to be conducted jointly by the Davis campus of the University of California, the Laboratory, and the C.I.E.A. Funding under the Educational Professional Development Act ($50,000) will finance the project.

17. Numerous changes have been brought about at the local level, ranging from the hiring of Indian community-education personnel by the Toulumne County Schools and Ukiah Unified School District to the development of curricula in Indian history and culture by the North Fork Union Elementary School District.

18. A marked increase in Indian enrollment at colleges and universities has occurred, in part because of Ad Hoc publicity and obtaining of "slots" for financially-needy Indian students.

19. Finally, the most important accomplishment of all has been in the growing enthusiasm of California Indian adults and youth and an increasing readiness to become involved in both formal and informal educational programs. The effect of this upon local communities is difficult to measure at present but it can be predicted that results will be increasingly visible in the forthcoming months.

Doubtless other influences of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee could be traced, however, the above should be sufficient to indicate the significance of the change brought about in California Indian affairs by the existence of a dynamic grass-roots educational movement. It should be stressed, of course, that these "spin-offs" and results have come about only in the very initial phase of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee

The California Indian Education Association, the "permanent" form of the committee, is now the largest organization among Indians in California and is perhaps one of the largest "grass-roots," democratic, individual-membership organizations in Indian America. After almost two years of existence it has remained free of factions and still combines individuals who are hostile under other circumstances. The C.I.E.A. has strong committees, both statewide, regional, and local, a new constitution, and a well-defined set of policies. That these policies will be implemented seems quite clear to those who know the Indian people who are involved in what has become a dynamic movement.

VIII. The Cost of the C.I.E.A. "Model"

The success of the Ad Hoc Committee - California Indian Education Association has not been dependent upon the availability of funds, since the essential element has been the successful recruiting of "volunteers" and the development of a high degree of individual motivation.

Nonetheless, money has been spent and those who might wish to follow this "model" for Indian educational development will wish to have some idea of the cost for two years of such effort.

A total of about $6,800 in Rosenberg Foundation funds were expended in 1967-1968, for the North Fork, Oakland, and Riverside conferences and for the printing of California Indian Education. Other funds have been spent by members of the committee "from their own pocket" and some money has been expended from funds derived from conference registration fees, et cetera.

Many individuals, such as the author, have donated time to the committee. The Far West Laboratory for Education Research and Development has contributed some secretarial time (as a part of the editing of California Indian Education), fiscal management services, some of the writer's time, and purchased copies of the North Fork report. These contributions and those made by other individuals and agencies have not been, and cannot be, calculated precisely in terms of dollars, since the greater part consists in "time" donated by individuals on a purely voluntary basis. It is likely that the total formal expenses made by agencies, including the Rosenberg Foundation, have not exceeded $10,000.

In brief, the development of such a movement is not an expensive process, in terms of dollars. More to the point, it would probably be correct to assert that "too many dollars" at an early stage would have been a positive disadvantage for the Ad Hoc Committee since opportunistic individuals (such as so-called "Indian politicians," promotors, and job-seekers) would have been encouraged to intervene in the process in such a way as to have aborted efforts to develop a basic Indian educational philosophy.

Likewise, early funding, or even the prospect of early funding, might have fostered a tendency to launch large-scale projects without adequate community-preparation and planning. Heretofore, most expensive projects relating to Indian education have been rather dismal failures, in part because of the lack of adequate planning and community-preparation, but also because of the use of an elitist approach.

IX. Conclusions

The experience of the C.I.E.A. has indicated that a democratic Indian organization can be developed successfully when focused upon education and that such an organization can bring about substantial changes in a brief period at low dollar cost. It is suggested herein that nothing precludes the development of similar movements in other states and provinces and that, in fact, the appearance of such movements is an absolutely essential step in bringing about meaningful changes in Indian education.

Unfortunately, the development of organizations comparable to the C.I.E.A. is something that cannot be "arranged" by non-Indians (or even by Indians if the latter are identified with the "establishment"). Such movements must arise from the Indian people.

On the other hand, agencies seeking to foster change can perhaps help to stimulate this process by supporting Indian-initiated plans for democratic, all-Indian discussion/planning conferences. Individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, will be found by the Indian people to "play the role" of catalysts and "action anthropologists."

No other state or province will precisely duplicate the experience of California, but comparable movements can develop everywhere. The Indian people are awakening and change-agencies will not have to look far or long for developing movements to respond to.

NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA:

A Handbook

By

Jack D. Forbes

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NATIVE AMERICAN ARTS 1

INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS

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NATIVE AMERICAN ARTS is a serial publication of special titles issued by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, U.S. Department of the Interior, as an administrative instrument of the Board's promotional, informational and educational programs devoted to the encouragement of the arts of Native Americans—the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of the United States.

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Cover:

Institute student Keith Conway (Blackfeet/Montana) in the battle scene from *Mowitch*, an action play produced by the students of the Performing Arts Department from a script written by Monica Charles (Clallam/Washington).

HISTORY
of the Institute

THE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS is a national institution for training in the arts directed to the special needs of today's youthful Native Americans—the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of the United States.

Creation of the Institute was recommended in 1960 by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior. Founded in 1962 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, USDI, the school is administered by the Bureau's Branch of Education. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board continues to serve as advisors for the development of the Institute.

Located in Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Institute is situated in the heart of the historic Pueblo Indian settlements clustered along the Rio Grande. As the focus of commerce and communication in the area since its founding about 1600, the city of Santa Fe has been intimately associated with Indian arts of the Southwest for more than three and a half centuries.

In the early 1930's the Bureau of Indian Affairs first centered specialized art training—primarily painting—at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. This school was one of the first to focus national attention on the potentials of specialized art education for Native American youth.

The facilities of the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School were remodeled in the early 1960's to accommodate the expanded concepts of the Institute of American Indian Arts.

Directed to Native American youth from all areas of the United States who are interested in a career in the arts, the Institute offers training in virtually every field of the arts—painting, graphics, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, exhibition arts, photography, as well as drama, music, the dance, creative writing, and a limited offering in commercial art.

Institute students, at both the high school and post-graduate levels, are provided the tools, leadership and freedom for exploration in a broad scope of contemporary disciplines, in combination with the encouragement of an appreciation and knowledge of historic Native American aesthetics. The Institute's educational program, administered by a highly qualified professional staff, is dedicated to offering the opportunity for today's Native American youth to make a significant and distinctive contribution to modern American culture.

INTRODUCTION

To much of the world, one of the most important aspects of our ofttimes challenged cultural prowess, past and present, is the contribution to the historic lore and the continuing cultural fact of the American Indian. If anyone chooses to question this they will have to admit that the Indian contribution to the world picture of America has been and still is the most glamorous, romantic and intriguing.

I speak of world interest but of course the glamour and fascination exist for us too, even if perhaps to a lesser degree. But while we may outgrow our interest or take it for granted, other people cherish and retain theirs and actually take the trouble to acquaint themselves with the many-facetted Indian personality more than we do. Sadly, the average American boasts an almost voluntary ignorance of factual Indian history and/or contemporary life. Sadder yet has been the insensitive disregard for the cultural as well as the physical needs of a great people whom we seem to have tried quite consciously to beach along the swift current of modern life.

Of course there have been some, too few, devoted Indians and non-Indians who have sincerely tried to help the Indian to help himself. However, a general unconcern has tended to shunt him off onto a vaguely integrated sidetrack where he has joined other ethnic groups successfully derailed by this method of depriving "special" groups of their human direction, their personality, and all-important individuality.

Most of us will admit, with varying degrees of intensity ranging from the desultory to passionate indignation, that our Indian brother has had a bad deal from us and a rough go of it to survive. We admit that what has been done for him must be classified in the disastrous category of "too little and too late." But suddenly we find that this very survival-spirit is a phenomenon which is demanding respectful public awareness of the Indian as an indomitable, dignified, creative human being. And as our respect grows for him so does the Indian's appreciation of himself, and so as the wheel turns we find the Indian back in the American family going full steam ahead.

One reason for this could be the growing realization on the part of many Americans that in our desperate need for cultural identification in the world and to it, we must look back to the Indian heritage. Unquestionably its cultural influences are indelibly stamped on ours, and at long last we have to admit them and accept them gratefully.

We have finally become conscious of an interest, which amounts almost to passion in older civilizations, in "primitive" beginnings. We have come to realize the term "primitive" is universally synonymous with sophistication, and that it is a quality long missing and much sought after in the American way of life.

How ironically wonderful and exciting it is that the young Indian, in accepting the recent opportunities and challenges of re-identifying with his "sophisticated" past and bringing it into the light of present needs, is illuminating not only his own until now questionable future but the questioning one of his non-Indian brother as well.

The stultifying tendency we all have shared of cataloguing the Indian racially and culturally as an old people, apart and past, is being overcome by their own young people. They are proving themselves very much of the present, and have become living proof of that cheering proverb "The Past is Prologue," and the best is yet to come.

Vincent Price

Chairman,
Indian Arts and Crafts Board

INSTITUTE OF AMER

CULTURAL DIFFERENCE
AS THE BASIS FOR
CREATIVE EDUCATION

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*Lloyd New, born in Oklahoma of Cherokee ancestry, has served as a Commissioner of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board since 1961. In addition to a successful career as a designer-craftsman under the professional name Lloyd Kiva, Mr. New is an art educator who has directed his interests to the special needs of Native American youth. With the founding of the Institute of American Indian Arts in 1962, he joined the staff as Arts Director and helped to formulate the Institute's educational philosophy. He was appointed Director of the Institute in 1967

ICAN INDIAN ARTS

by Lloyd New*

The basic goal of the traditional American educational system has been to prepare all individuals to function effectively in an average middle class society. But, ideal as this goal may be, the processes of mass education do not always lend themselves to singular problems and since this country is comprised of varied groups requiring singular attention, some failures are inevitable. Over a period of time, these have occurred in sufficient number and with sufficient force to cause general concern and give rise to questioning from many quarters as to the soundness of the principles involved. Efforts are now being made on a wide front to reconsider the goals and the methods and to search out new educational approaches that will better solve the problems of special groups. This is a particularly urgent cause in the case of education for the North American Indian. The task of setting up and administering educational programs for the American Indian has been frought with seemingly insurmountable problems and inbuilt frustrations for both the Indian population of the country and the Federal Government. The circumstances need to be examined briefly in order to understand past failures and present needs.

The American Indian has never truly subscribed to the Common American Middle Class Dream, largely because of the fundamental differences existing between his life-goals and those of society at large. The Indian value system always has been centered on the idea that man should seek to blend his existence into the comparatively passive rhythms of nature, as opposed to the dominant society's quest for control of nature through scientific manipulation of its elements. This schism, alone, has been a formidable barrier to the establishment of a constructive interrelationship between the protagonists.

Another factor with important bearing on the Indian's negative reaction to some of the general goals set forth *for* him has been his original indigenous relationship to the *land* of America, his position and attitudes in this respect being dramatically different from those of the immigrant groups by whom he was eventually surrounded. Psychologically, the American Indian generally has remained aloof from the melting pot concept upon which this country was structured.

The language barrier must be placed high on the list of circumstances which have worked to the detriment of both the Indian and the Government. The grammar and semantics of Indian languages differ so widely from English that they impede communication and are a major deterrent to successful education for the Indian child who, on entering school, has to contend with the requirements of a curriculum based in English which, to him, is a strange and uncomfortable foreign language. The child has difficulty learning under these conditions, not because he is unintelligent but, rather, because the educational offering has not been structured to his special needs.

The heterogeneous makeup of the Indian population has been the source of many frustrations for Indian and Anglo alike. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census the Indian population in 1960 numbered 552,000 and according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs this number soars itself into 263 separate Indian tribes, bands, villages, pueblos and groups in states other than Alaska, plus 300 Native Alaskan communities. The job of creating and administering programs of health, education and welfare for such diverse groups as these, with language barriers and culturally unique concepts of life, can hardly be viewed as an easy one. And, unfortunately, some early efforts of the Government to bridge the many gaps proceeded erroneously, based on the premise that the Indian, if given the opportunity, would relinquish his "Indianness" sooner or later and fit himself into the overall plan of American life. History points sadly to the flaws in this assumption.

For the past century the Indian has clung tenaciously to his way of life and has managed to quietly reject any event that seemed to threaten it. Overtures made in his behalf which did not fit *his* sense of need were frequently received with submerged hostility, often manifested by the kind of deadly passivity that kills any cooperative program far more effectively than open warfare. This kind of a situation amounts to an impasse; with the Indians on one hand being labeled: unresponsive; and the Government on the other hand being labeled: inept; and with neither side achieving constructive goals.

Social and technological changes, and the rapidity with which they have occurred, have made the old Indian way of life increasingly less viable. The Indian finds himself pressured on many fronts, particularly economically, to fall in line and cope with the changes, but in most cases and for obvious reasons he is ill equipped to do so. The following statistics quoted from President Lyndon B. Johnson's Address To Congress, March 6, 1968, shed some light on present conditions:

> "—Fifty percent of Indian families have cash incomes below $2,000 a year; 75 percent have incomes below $3,000."
> "—Nearly 60 percent have less than an eighth grade education."

The President states the problem concisely in the following paragraph:

> "The American Indian, once proud and free, is torn now between white and tribal values; between the politics and language of the white man and his own historic culture. His problems, sharpened by years of defeat and exploitation, neglect and inadequate effort, will take many years to overcome."

This official awareness is encouraging and one can feel hope in the fact that many plans are being initiated to overcome the problems. Experimental kindergarten workshops are now being conducted where the pupil's Native language is used as a preliminary to the introduction of English; new opportunities in adult education have been provided in many areas; stepped-up programs in vocational training and bringing industry to the reservations are two of the Government's major efforts toward alleviating the unemployment problem; and the Indian population, for its part, has an awakened attitude toward matters of self-determination.

Also, the Federal Government has recognized, with some alarm, the possible dissipation of American Indian art forms as a National resource. In response to the advice of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is working on new programs concerned with Native culture in Alaska as well as in the rest of the United States.

In establishing the Institute of American Indian Arts six years ago, the Bureau recognized the special needs of Indian youth and provided an institution which was set up to make special curriculum provisions geared to their particular needs, in an attempt to turn the potential disadvantage of the cultural transition to advantage and to stimulate extensions of American Indian expressions in the arts.

(Continued P. 8)

Buildings on the campus of the Institute, a remodeled facility of an earlier Bureau of Indian Affairs school, located in Santa Fe, New Mexico, feature Spanish-American Colonial adobe-style architecture. The contemporary design of proposed new structures for the campus (see p. 52) reflects the Institute's interest and needs for experimentation and diversity in its educational program for Native American youth.

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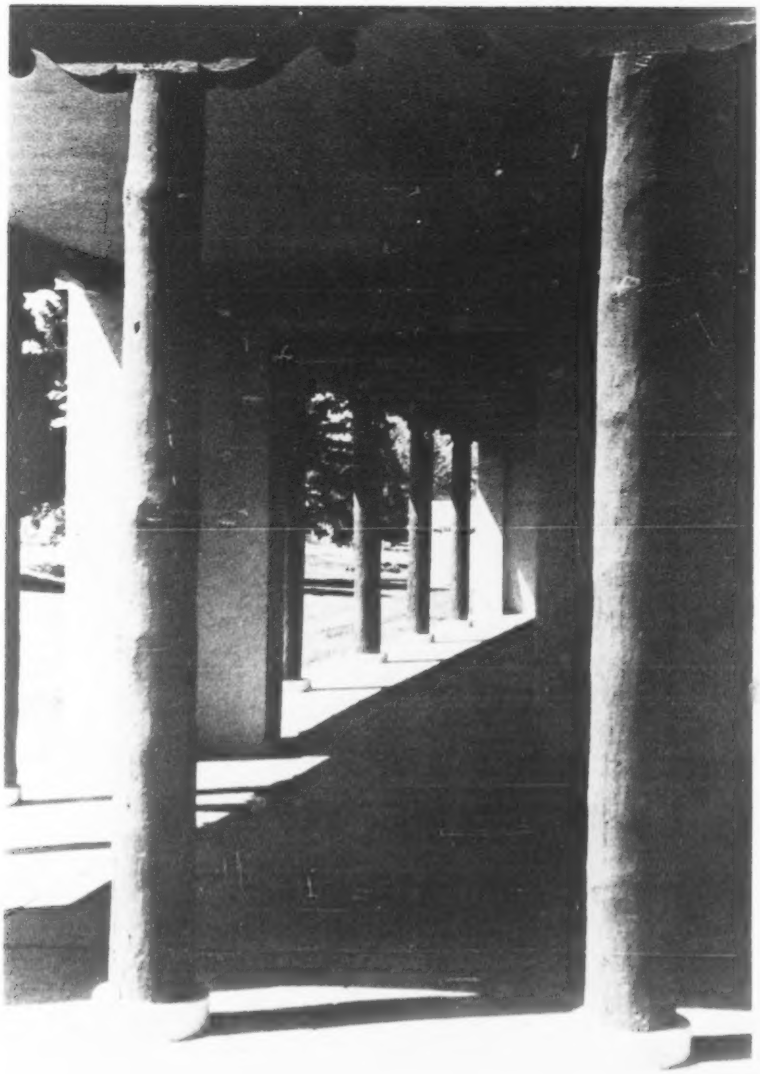

The underlying philosophy of the program is that unique cultural tradition can be honored and can be used creatively as the springboard to a meaningful contemporary life.

The Institute holds that cultural differences are a rich well-spring from which may be drawn new creative forces relevant to contemporary conditions and environments. We believe that, ultimately, by learning to link the best in Indian culture to contemporary life, the young Indian will be able to solve his own problems and enrich the world scene in the process.

We do not believe that it is possible for anyone to live realistically while shut in by *outmoded* tradition. We do believe that each generation must evolve its own art forms to reflect its own times and conditions, rather than turn to the hopeless prospect of mere remanipulation of the past. The Indian artist who draws on his own tradition to evolve new art forms learns to stand on his own feet, artistically, avoiding stultifying cliches applied to Indian art by purists who, sometimes unwittingly, resent any evolution of forms, techniques, and technology in Indian art.

In general, the Institute plans its programs around the special needs of the individual, as best these can be determined. It attempts continuously to expand its understanding of student problems as they emanate from Indian cultural origins. The goal of the programs is to develop educational methods which will assist young Indian people to enter contemporary society with pride, poise, and confidence.

The school offers an accredited high school program with emphasis on the arts, and a post-high vocational arts program as preparation for college and technical schools and employment in arts-related vocations. The age range of the student body is from 15 to 22.

Most of these young people have suffered from cultural conflict and economic deprivation. They are beset with misunderstandings regarding race, color and religion; and are lost in a labyrinth, in search of identity; they are stung by memories of discrimination. Among them are the revolutionists, the nonconformists, and the unacademically-minded who find no satisfaction in the common goals set for them in the typical school program. They typify that percentage of creative individuals to be found in all cultural groups who seek new ways of self-expression and who are bent on searching out very personal and creative approaches to problem solving. Holding standards which are at odds with the majority, they reject and are rejected by the typical school program.

Without the opportunity to attend a school catering to their particular drives, such students are most likely to join ranks with the growing number of dropouts who represent one of today's major problems in education. Such misfits, when measured in terms of their ultimate contributions to humanity, very often stand in indictment of a system which categorically has excluded them.

In contemplation of his immediate position, the Indian youth may easily view himself as a sorely disadvantaged, second-rate citizen—and act accordingly. He may tend to equate his problems with the simple fact of being Indian and may, consciously or subconsciously, reject *himself* and engage in acts of self-denigration such as drinking to excess, flaunting the law, fighting publicly, and other antisocial behavior; or, he may go to the other extreme and take refuge in "Indianism," seeking to live in an atmosphere of complete chauvinism and false pride, in which case he may withdraw in a state of indifference and lethargy; or, he may be astride a fence, torn in both directions, in a state of complete frustration.

At the same time, the Indian youth shares in the general concerns of the typical American teen-ager; he wears mod clothes, does the latest dances, engages in TV hero worship, and is generally cognizant of the significant youth movements of search and protest. In short, he has all the problems common to the youth of this era and, in addition, the difficult problem of making a satisfactory psychological reconciliation between the mores of two cultures.

(Continued P 10)

During the school year Institute students plan and stage events that reflect historic Native American culture. Here, Herbert Stevens (Apache/Arizona) is assisted with preparations for a special weekend of tribal dancing and traditional cooking.

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In all cases, the Institute's primary goal is to give the student a basis for genuine pride and self-acceptance. At the outset and at a very personal level, he is made aware of the fact that we know, in general, what his problems are, and that we are on hand to discuss them with him and look into what can be done to help in his particular circumstances; he is made aware of the fact that we respect him both as an individual and as an Indian, and that we cherish his cultural traditions. The school operates in a general aura of honor and appreciation for the Indian parent and the world he represents.

All students at the Institute are oriented in the history and aesthetics of Indian accomplishments in the arts. They view exhibitions of the choicest collections of fine Indian art pieces, listen to lectures with slides and films covering the archaeology and ethnology of Indian cultures, and take field trips into the present-day cultural areas of the Southwest groups. They are encouraged to identify with their total heritage, harkening back to the classic periods of South and Central American cultures—heydays of artistic prowess in the New World. And they are exposed to the arts of the world, to give them a basis for evaluating and appreciating the artistic merits of the contributions made by their ancestors. Each student is led to investigate the legends, dances, materials, and activities pertaining to the history of his own particular tribe.

Through this process, he gradually increases his awareness of himself as a member of a race tremendously rich in cultural accomplishments and gains a feeling of self-worth.

In a curriculum unusually rich in art courses (see History, p. 2), a student, who may have become dulled to the excitement of personal accomplishment as a result of unsatisfactory experiences with academic subjects in his early years, can be revitalized through the experience of creative action. He may have an undiscovered aptitude for music, dancing, or drama; a natural sense of color and design, a sensitivity for three-dimensional form, or a way with words. All students at the Institute elect studio art courses. Sooner or later, with a great deal of sensitive cooperation on the part of the faculty, a field is found in which a student can "discover" himself. His first successful fabric design, ceramic bowl, piece of sculpture, or performance on stage may be his very first experience with the joy of personal accomplishment. His reaction is one of justifiable pride, and sometimes a shade of disbelief, at having produced something of worth, and he equates it with his own personal worth. For him, this is a great personal discovery. It is, also, a most potent form of motivation toward personal growth.

To date, our approach is happily justified in a look at the progress of young Indian students at the Institute. Art critics of stature are excited by the work. The quality of design and workmanship, equal in its own way to the finest traditional approaches, is easily discernible in the

(Continued P. 12)

HOOKSTONE is a commercial art gallery located on the Institute campus where the general public may view and purchase fine examples of student work. The gallery is operated by the students as part of a class in sales and promotional methods, and offers practical experience in operating a small business while also providing an outlet for student products. Profits on individual sales, less a deduction levied by the Student Senate to help finance student activities, go to the student artist or craftsman. Student work is also reserved for the Institute's Honors Collection, employed for organizing exhibitions which have appeared throughout the United States and in foreign countries.

work being produced in sculpture, painting, and the various crafts. New sources of richness and beauty are reflected in poetry and prose. Early developments in drama and music are gratifying.

As impressive as these results are in terms of artistic accomplishments, the real value of the program lies in the general personal growth of the student and in his discovery of newly found strength and its carry over into his academic efforts and social behavior.

A continuous effort is made in the Academic Department to find more effective ways to correct the academic deficiencies all too common to Indian students who come from the disadvantaged backgrounds previously explained. Special attention is given to students who have language handicaps. New approaches are sought continuously for expanding intellectual growth based upon ways compatible with the cultural mores of the student's background.

In the dormitories, living conditions are planned especially to broaden the student's exposure to the behavioral expectations of a contemporary society. Here, he learns the social amenities necessary to democratic living in the world at large as well as within his own cultural group.

As a result of these procedures, most students seem to gain self-affirmation. They emerge strengthened, proud, and confident, exercising newly found powers of self-direction. Figures for the past three years (1966, 1967 and 1968) reveal that 86.2% of the students in the graduating classes (12th, 13th and 14th years) have continued their educational pursuits beyond the high school level. A breakdown of this figure shows that 23.2% go into college or college-level arts schools, while 63% return to the Institute or enroll in formal vocational training programs. Significantly, students in the 14th year, who have been with us two additional years beyond the 12th year, matured sufficiently to show a college entrance figure of 42.2%. Of the total student body, 11.9% left the Institute prior to the end of a school year and did not transfer to any other educational program.

Since we must deal with the fact that no group ever will be 100% college oriented for various legitimate reasons, the Institute is currently planning a practically based terminal program for the talented but non-college directed art student who presently has no place to go for completion of his vocational art training at a professional level.

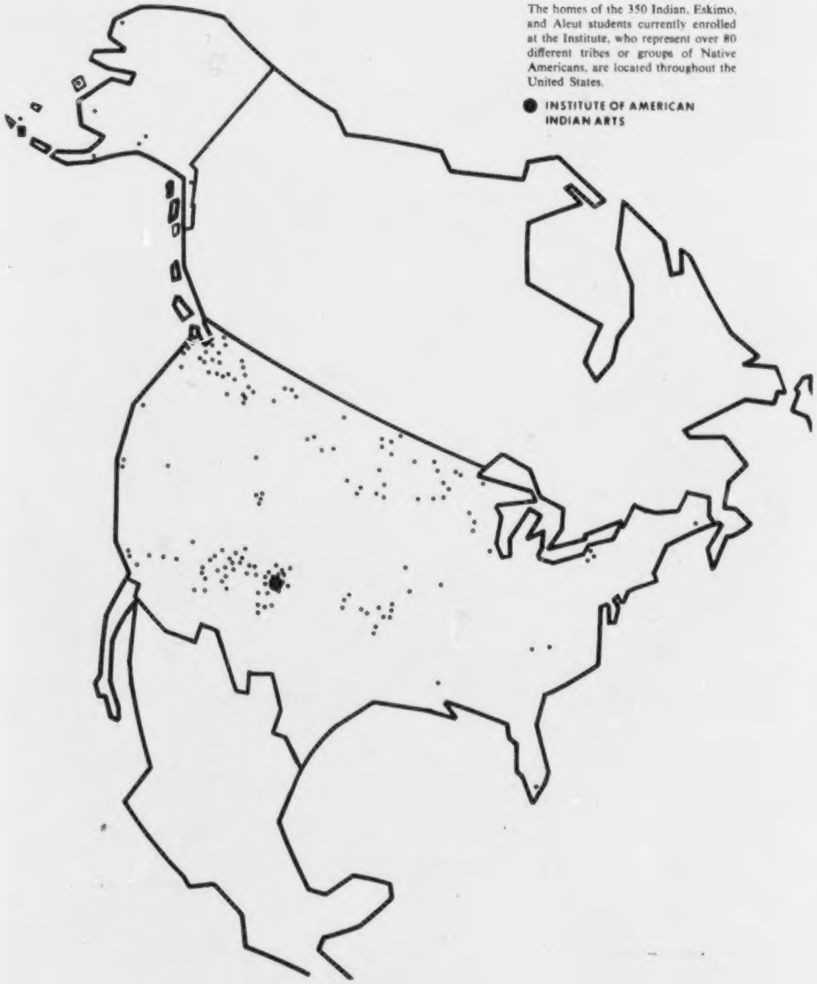
In summary, the Institute of American Indian Arts is embarked on an exploratory program, with many steps yet to be taken. We are aware that cultural change is always difficult, and even traumatic when it involves alteration of one's own traditional foundation in favor of new values—especially when the latter emanate from an alien source. But, we must assume that change is inevitable. Therefore, the need is to find ways to encompass it healthily, taking care to avoid the *destruction* of ethnic traditions.

Thus far in our job, we have found that by stressing cultural roots as a basis for creative expression and by offering a wide range of media in which to work, Indian students can be inspired to new personal strengths in dimensions heretofore unrealized. As a result of the Institute's heritage-centered approach, a gratifying number of its students do discover who they are and what it is they have to say to the world; and they develop the self-respect and confidence to express themselves accordingly. They are helped to function constructively, in tune with the demands of their contemporary environment but without having to sacrifice their cultural being on the altar of either withdrawal or assimilation.

This method of dealing with Indian minority problems seems to hold promise of being an effective educational approach for dealing with the needs of other minority groups in the United States and throughout the world, wherever similar problems prevail.

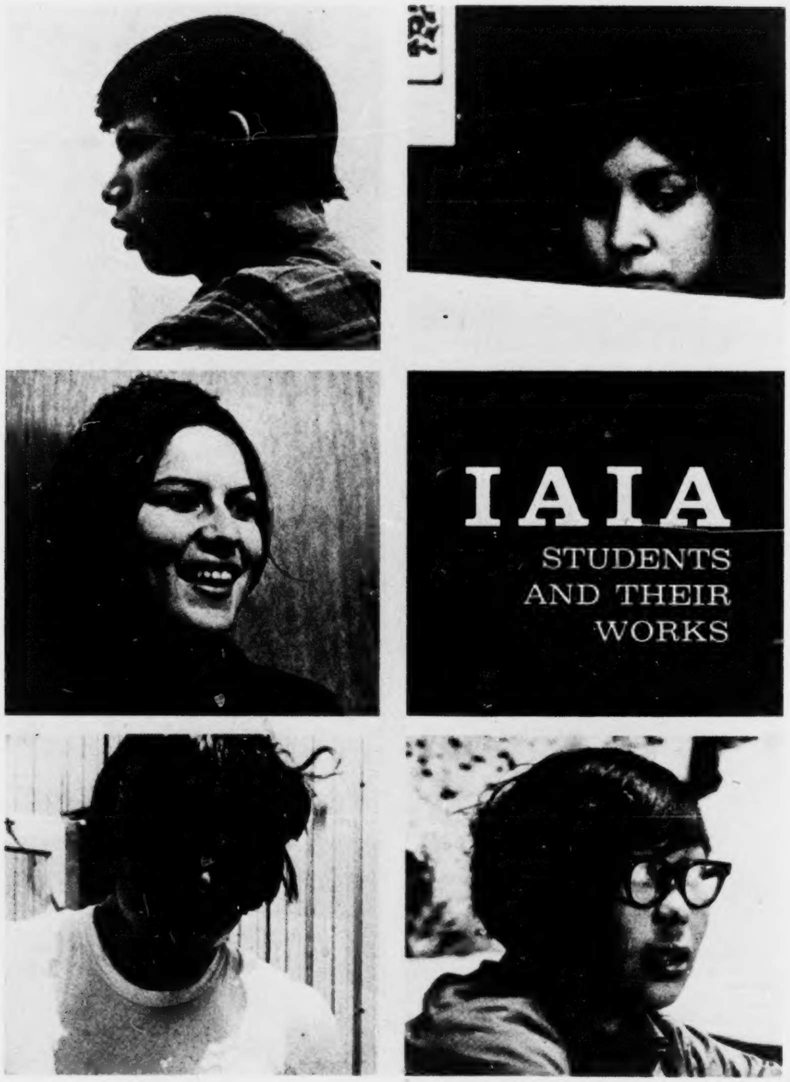
It cannot be overemphasized that the program at the Institute could not succeed without the presence of a sensitive, creative, alert faculty who are attuned to the youth of today and are immediately empathetic; who appreciate and use wisely the great storehouse of positive ethnic forces that can be turned to the advantage of our Indian students. ●

The entry to the Institute's campus theater announces an evening of Native American drama and dance, one of several programs produced during the year by the students. An additional and larger facility comprising a 2,000 seat outdoor amphitheater, now under construction at the Institute, will serve as a national center for the development of Native American drama.



The homes of the 350 Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut students currently enrolled at the Institute, who represent over 80 different tribes or groups of Native Americans, are located throughout the United States.

● INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS



IAIA
STUDENTS AND THEIR WORKS

96B

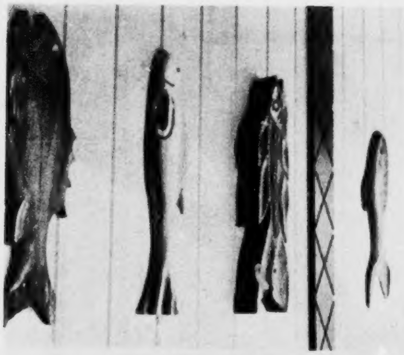
As illustrated on these and the following pages, the Institute of American Indian Arts provides education in virtually all art forms, offering training and experience toward both commercial and fine arts careers. Institute students, in the high school as well as post-graduate programs, arrange their schedule of subjects in consultation with faculty advisors to pursue fields of existing interests as well as to discover new ones.

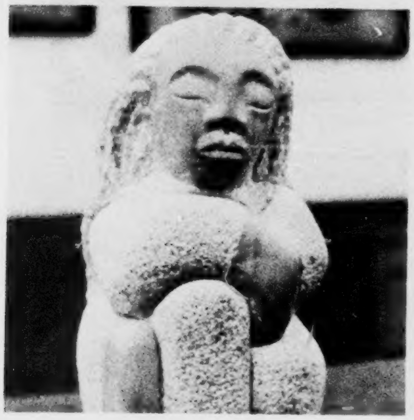
GRAPHICS

Training in graphics media is basic to the schedule of the majority of students.

Above: the press room; *center:* prints hung to dry; *below:* pencil drawings.

Opposite page: Larry Ahvakana (Eskimo/Alaska) silk screens a poster.



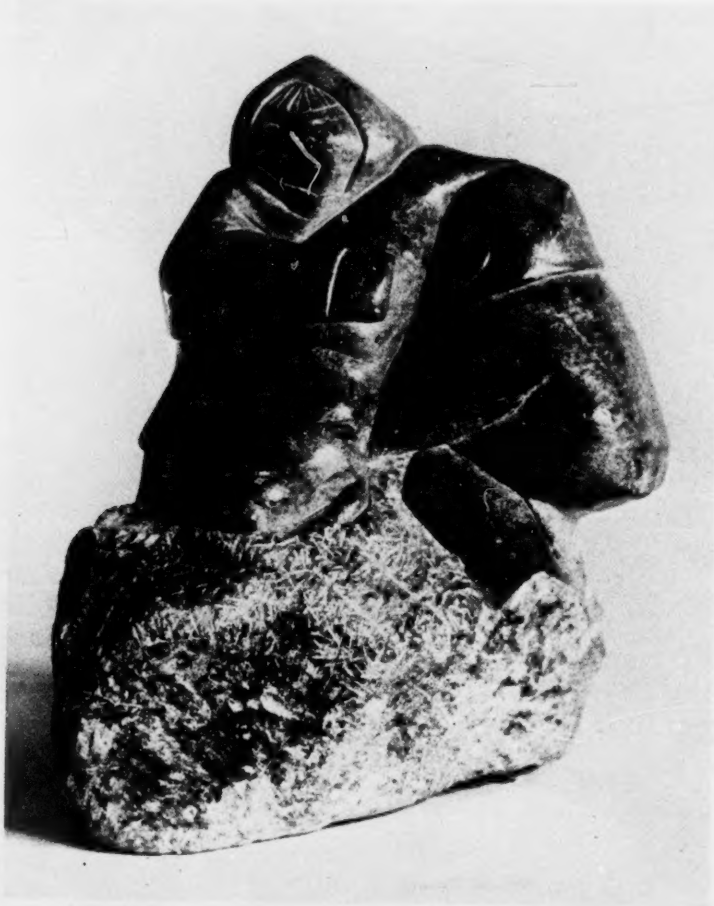


SCULPTURE

Training in three dimensional arts encompasses a variety of techniques and materials, including sculpting stone, carving wood, modeling clay, as well as casting, welding and brazing metals.

Above: At the request of various Indian groups, Institute students have undertaken special projects to decorate tribal buildings. A 1964 project includes these polychromed wood carvings of fish embellishing an exterior wall of a restaurant operated by the Miccosukee Tribe and located on the Tamiami Trail, near Miami, Florida. *Center:* Don Chunestudey (Cherokee/California) working on a clay model. *Below:* Works by Institute students have been presented in public exhibitions staged throughout the United States. This marble sculpture, **ROWENA,** by Douglas Hyde (Nez Perce/Oregon), is shown as it appeared in an exhibition in Washington, D.C.

Opposite page: James Blackwell (Haida/Washington) sculpting marble.



SEAL HUNTERS, soapstone, by Arnold Gologergen (Eskimo/Alaska).

Opposite page: **BIRD,** welded and brazed iron, by Ted Palmanteer (Colville-Yakima/Washington).

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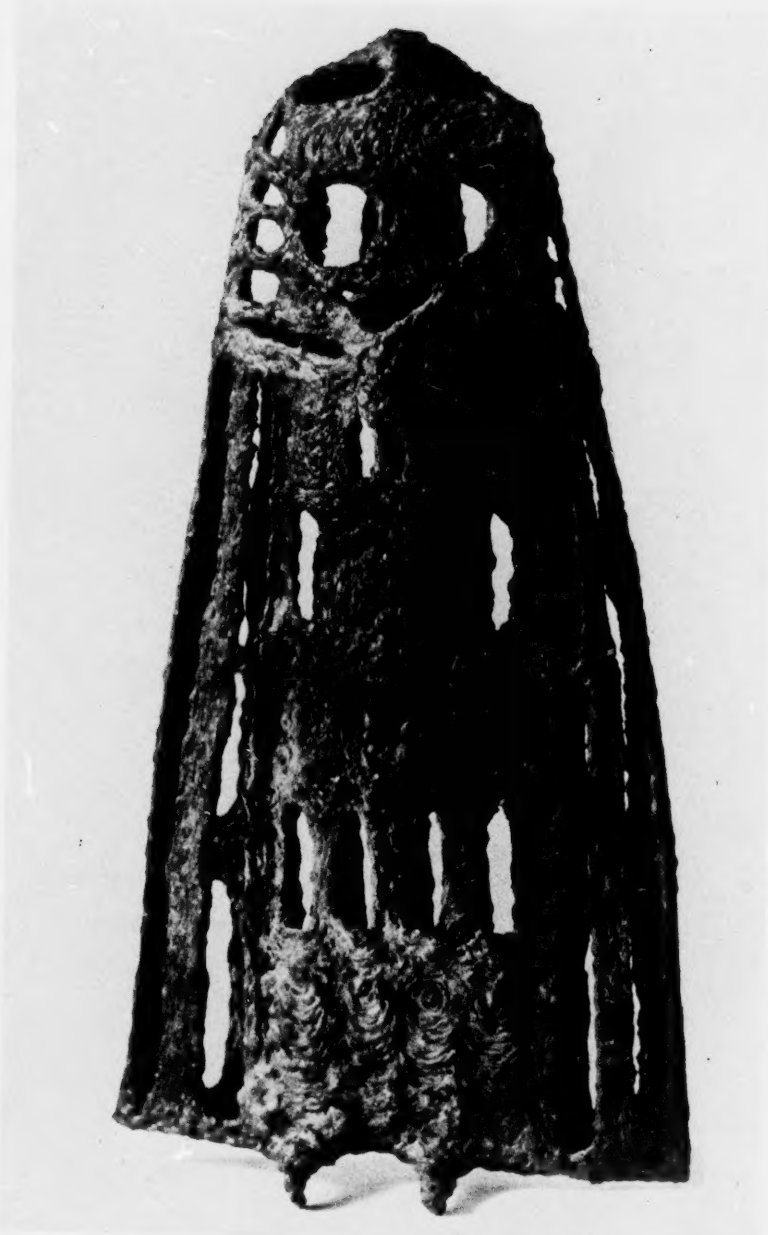

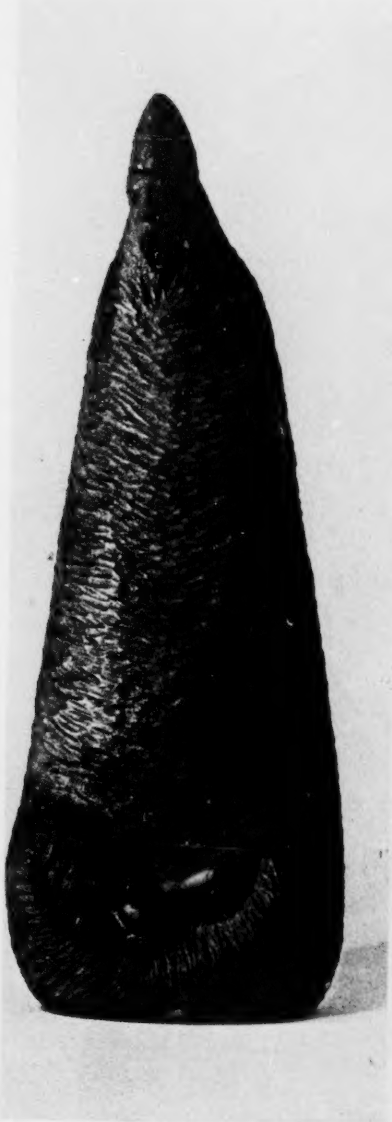

DRUMMER, cedar, by Douglas Crowder (Choctaw/Oklahoma).

Opposite page: **FIGURE,** marble, by Don Chunestudey (Cherokee/California).

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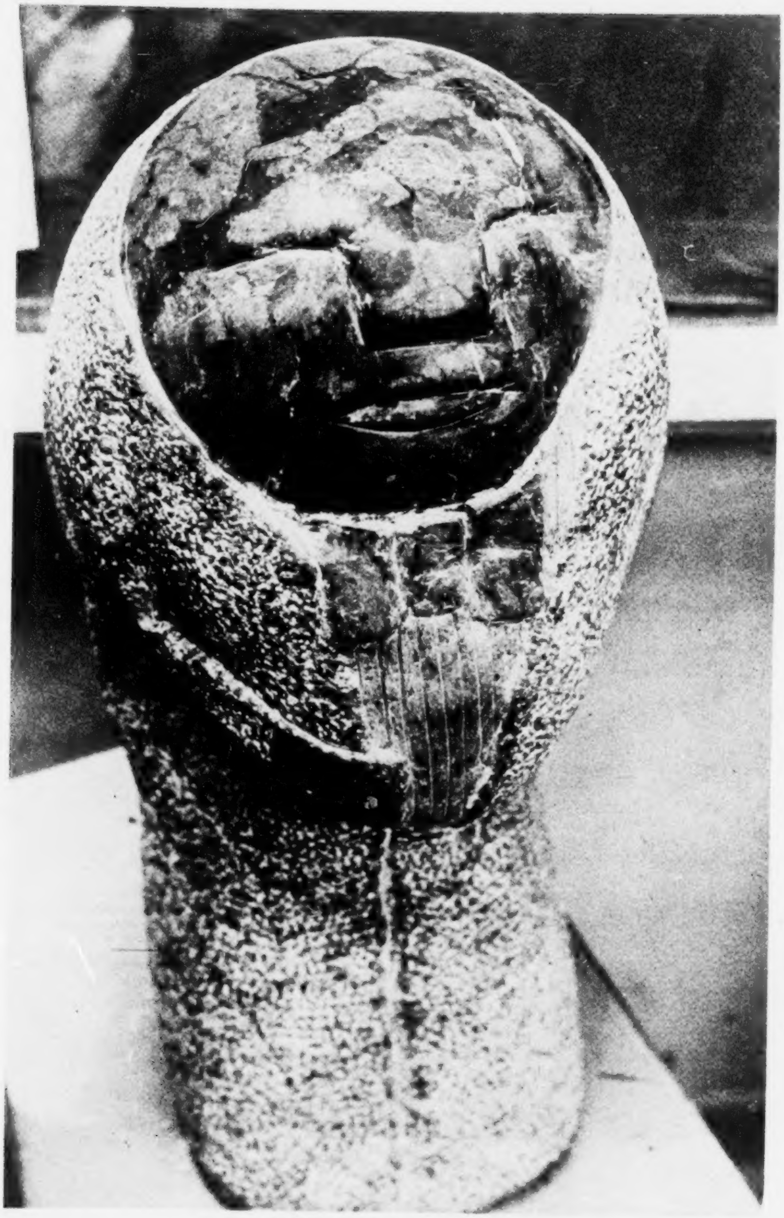

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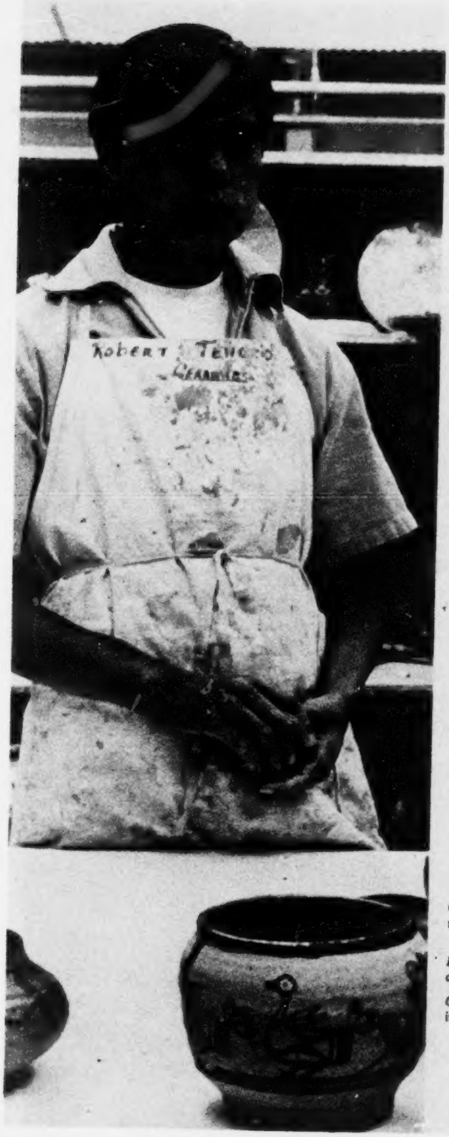
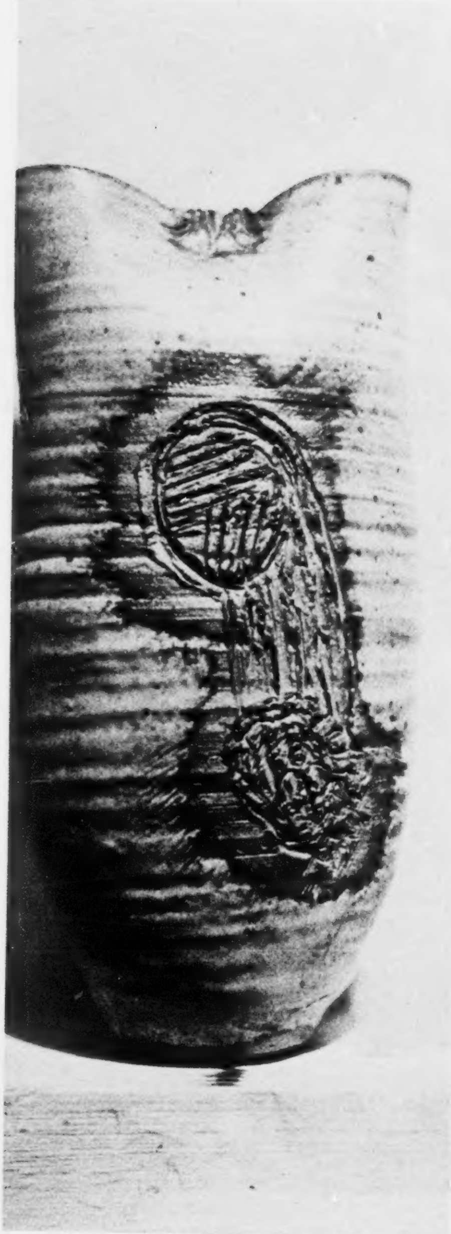


CERAMICS

Ceramics offer the student a wide latitude for experimentation in problems of form and decoration.

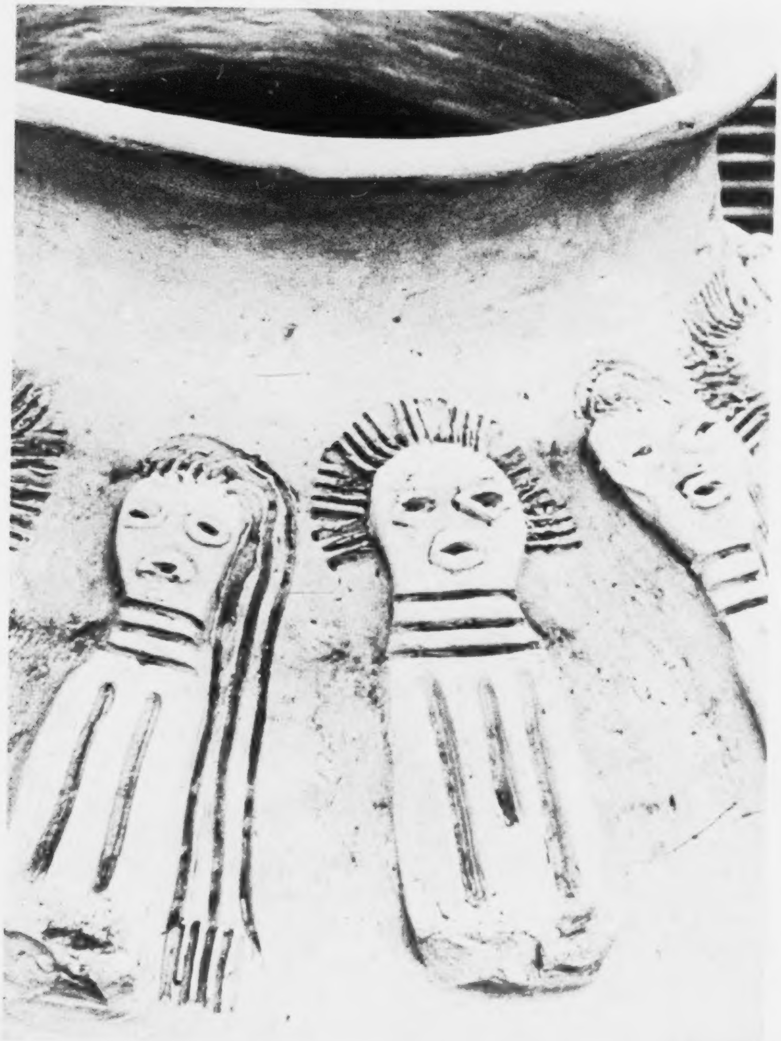
Left: Robert Tenorio (Santo Domingo/New Mexico) contemplates a decorated stoneware bowl.

Opposite page: Mary Medina (Zia/New Mexico) raising a vase.

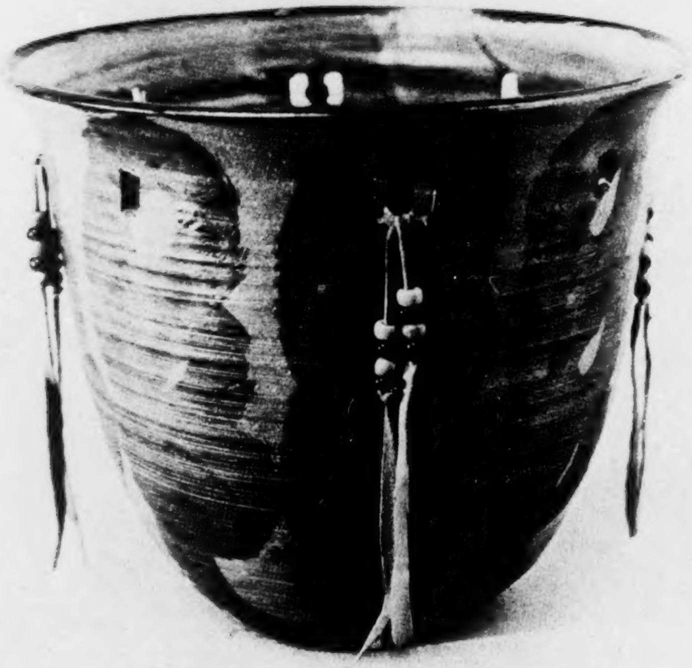


Left: **VASE,** thrown stoneware, with incised and glazed decorations, by Juanita Waukazo (Chippewa/Minnesota).

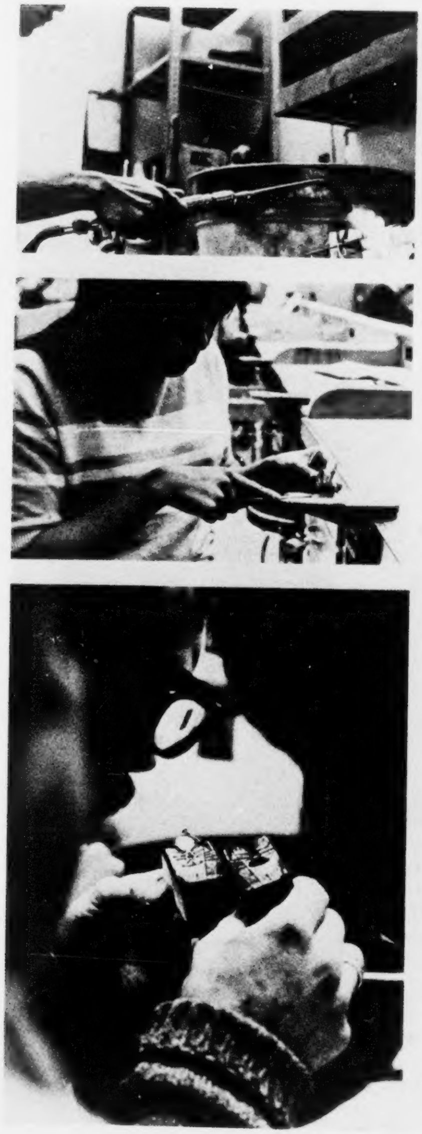
Opposite page: Detail of large coil-built stoneware **JAR,** decorated with modeled and incised figures, by Frances Makil (Hopi-Pima/Arizona).



MASK, slab-constructed stoneware with painted glaze decoration, by Dolores Castillo (Spokane/Washington).



VASE, thrown stoneware with painted glaze decoration, tied with buckskin thongs and glass beads, by Henry Gobin (Snohomish/Washington).

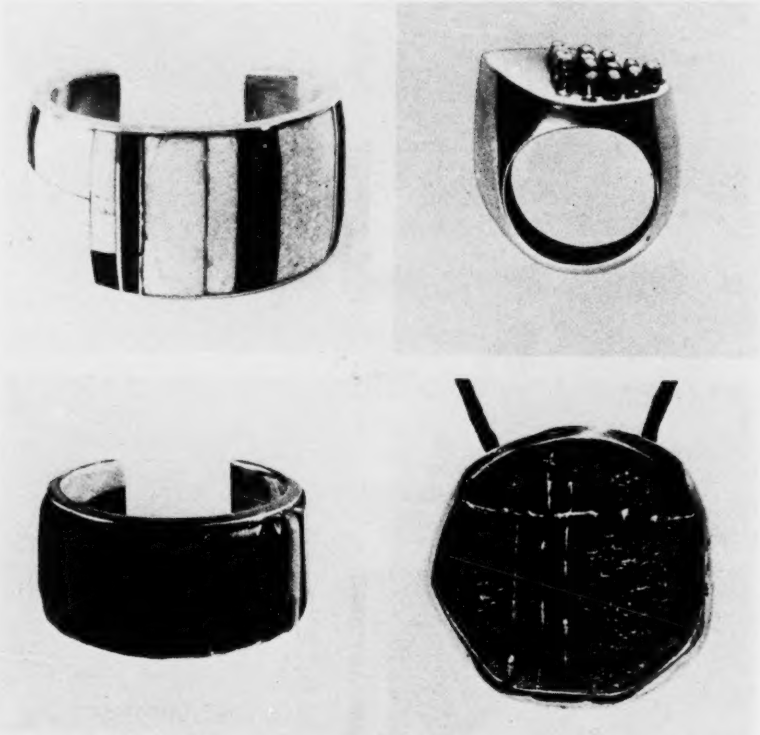


METALWORKING AND LAPIDARY

In addition to large sculptural compositions, instruction in metalworking techniques at the Institute encompasses a variety of work in precious metals for fine jewelry, often in combination with rich settings or inlays of jade, ivory, turquoise, shell, wood, and numerous other materials.

Above: Jim Honyaktewa (Hopi/Arizona) melting silver in a crucible; *center:* Barbara Smith (Chippewa/Illinois) filing a silver ring; *bottom:* instructor and students examine a cast.

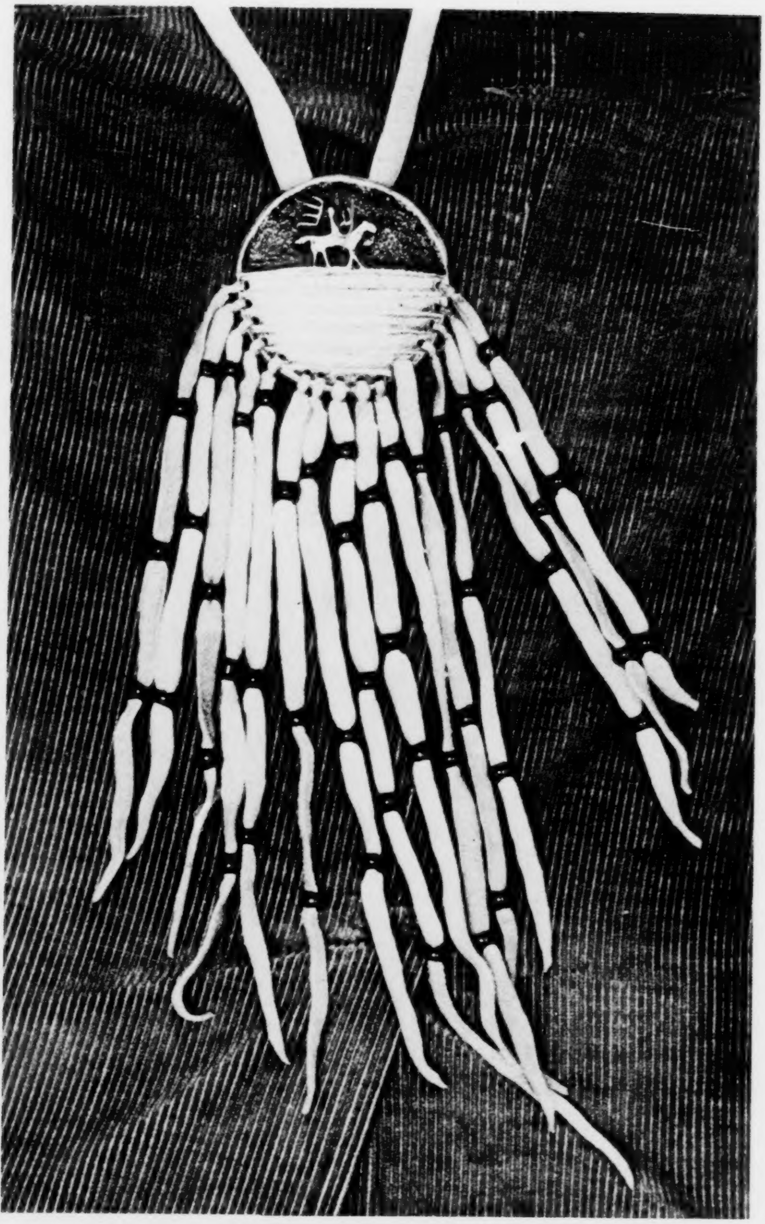
Opposite page: silver for large casts is melted in the white-hot furnace.

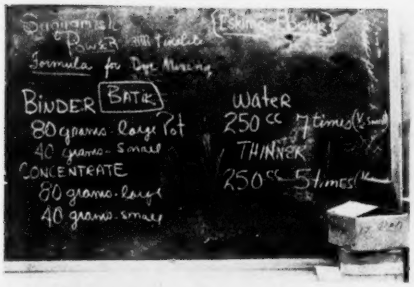


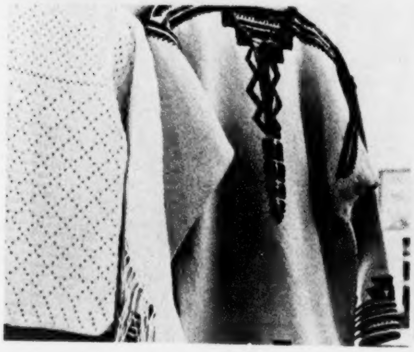
Top left: **BRACELET,** silver with ivory and jade, by Jerry Norton (Eskimo/Alaska); *top right:* **RING,** silver set with coral and turquoise, by Lester Boone (Zuni/New Mexico); *bottom left:* **BRACELET,** silver with coral and wood, by Harlow Brown (Pima/Arizona); *bottom right:* **PENDANT,** cast silver, by Earl Eder (Sioux/Montana).

Opposite page: **PENDANT,** cast silver, tied with buckskin thong and glass beads, by James Crawford (Blackfeet/Montana).

1403




Power
Formula for Dye Mixing
BINDER
BATIK
80 grams - large Pot
40 grams - small
CONCENTRATE
80 grams - large
40 grams - small
Water
250 cc 7 times
THINNER
250 cc 5 times

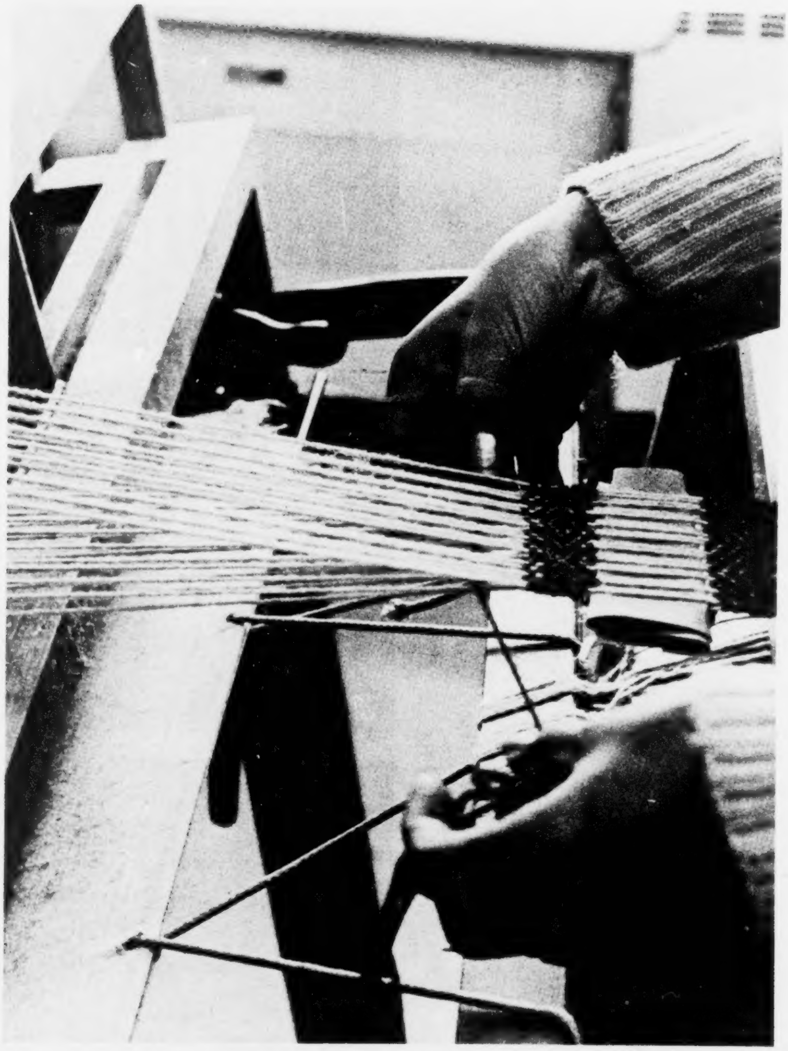


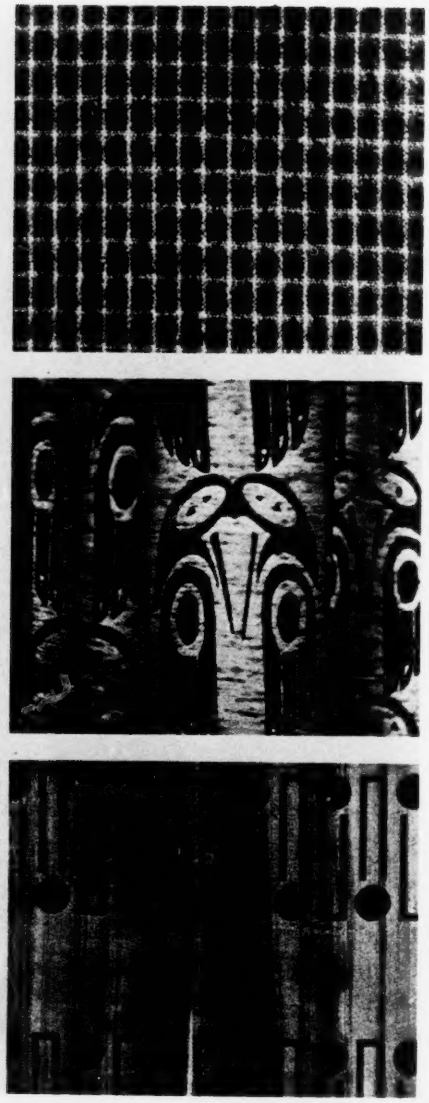
TEXTILE ARTS

The creation and decoration of textiles is pursued through training and experience in a variety of processes—from weaving and knitting to embroidery and screen printing.

Above: classroom blackboard with a formula for printing dyes, and other messages; *center:* Maxine Gachupin (Jemez/New Mexico) with one of her screen printed fabrics; *below:* long-sleeved pull-over garments designed and produced by Institute students, on the left a shirt crocheted in white cotton, on the right a shirt of white wool decorated with embroidered designs in color.

Opposite page: a student working on a herringbone and diamond twill sample.

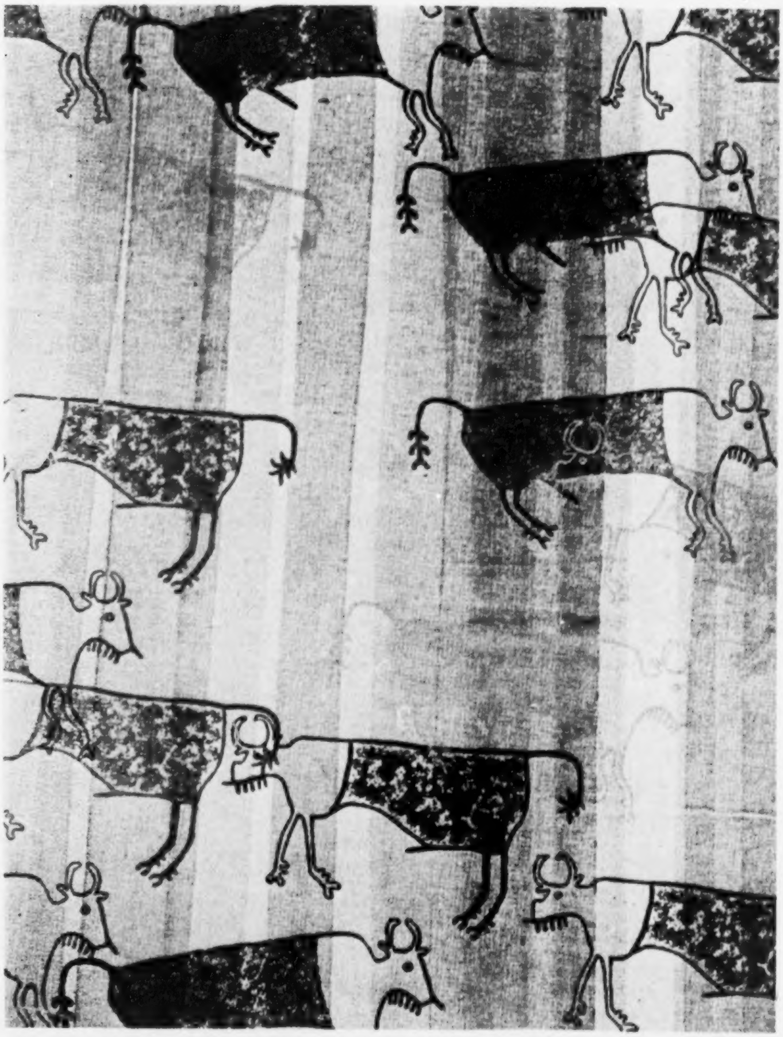




Above: fine plaid, wool, woven by Lena Gorman (Navajo/Arizona); *center:* screen print on heavy cotton, by Charles Tega (Athabaskan/Alaska); *below:* screen print on heavy cotton, by Dolores Reyna (Taos/New Mexico).

Opposite page: screen print on heavy cotton, by Keith Austin (Navajo/Arizona).

1407



1408/ 1409

CREATIVE WRITING

Creative writing at the Institute has become an increasingly important means of expression as students have discovered the infinite resources of the written word. Though poetry receives much attention, especially through the annual Vincent Price Awards for outstanding work, several student authors have already received national recognition for their prose works. A fine example is Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell (Navajo/New Mexico) whose autobiographical MIRACLE HILL was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1967 and received wide critical acclaim.

The quiet, subtle laughter of women
as they prepare the meal.
The food, hot and steaming, nourishing,
served in a pottery bowl; the same color as the people.
The glow of the awakening sun as it pours itself
into the darkness of mud-plastered walls beginning another day.
This is the world of the Pueblo.

And now this is the new day:
The laughter is still subtle, still quiet.
The food is still hot, still humbly accepted and given thanks for.
Only the plaster has changed,
but the sun is still round, like the pottery,
like the kiva, and still the color of the people.

LARRY BIRD
Pueblo

"*. . . Now I am left on this lonely island. I want to walk. I try to stand alone . . .*" Jane Lind (Aleut/Alaska) plays the part of 'Beverly' in *Ianuis*, a play written for the Performing Arts Department by Monica Charles (Clallam/Washington).

AUGUST 24, 1963—1:00 A.M.—OMAHA

HEAVY BREATHING FILLS ALL MY CHAMBER
SINISTER TRUCKS PROWL
DOWN DIM-LIT ALLEYWAYS.
RACING PAST EACH OTHER,
CARS TOOT OBSCENITIES.
SILENCE IS CRAWLING IN OPEN WINDOWS
SMILING AND WARM.
SUDDENLY,
CRICKETS AND COCKROACHES
JOIN IN THE MADNESS:
CRICKING AND CRAWLING.
HERE I AM!
A PORTION OF SOME MURKY DESIGN.
WRITING,
BECAUSE I CANNOT SLEEP,
BECAUSE I COULD DIE HERE.

DONNA WHITEWING,
WINNEBAGO-SIOUX

TUMBLE WEED

I stood in the shelter of a great tree,
Hiding from the wind that galloped over the land,
Robbing, and wrecking, and scattering. It soared.
I was earth bound.
It tugged at the leaves,
At the grass, at things not tied.
At me.
Urging, pulling, laughing in my ear.
I listened but stood.
Flitting away, it spied a tumbleweed
and coaxed it from its roots.
The brown weed soared
and became a part of the wind.
Suddenly, with a wild yearning,
I ran stumbling, with arms outstretched.
It flew on beyond me.
It stopped.
The wind flew around me,
Leaving me there.

RAMONA CARDEN
Colville

BATTLE WON IS LOST

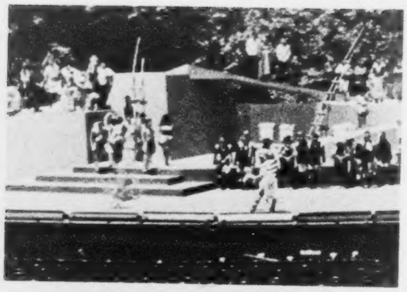
They said, "You are no longer a lad."
I nodded.
They said, "Enter the council lodge."
I sat.
They said, "Our lands are at stake."
I scowled.
They said, "We are at war."
I hated.
They said, "Prepare red war symbols."
I painted.
They said, "Count coups."
I scalped.
They said, "You'll see friends die."
I cringed.
They said, "Desperate warriors fight best."
I charged.
They said, "Some will be wounded."
I bled.
They said, "To die is glorious."
They lied.

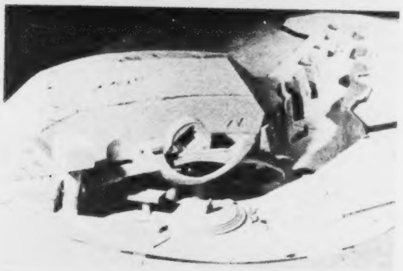
PHIL GEORGE
Nez Perce

YEI — IE'S CHILD

I am the child of the Yei—ie.
Turquoise for my body. Silver for my soul.
I was united with beauty all around me.
As turquoise and silver, I'm the jewel of brother
tribes and worn with pride.
The wilds of the animals are also my brothers.
The bears, the deer, and the birds are a part
of me and I am a part of them.
As brothers, the clouds are our long and sleek hair.
The winds are our pure breath.
As brothers, the rivers are our blood.
The mountains are our ownselves.
As brothers, the universe is our home, and
in it we walk with beauty in our minds,
with beauty in our hearts and with
beauty in our steps.
In beauty we were born.
In beauty we are living.
In beauty we will die.
In beauty we will be finished.

CHARLES C. LONG
Navajo





PERFORMING ARTS

Through programs encompassing the entire range of performing arts—drama, the dance, and music—the Institute seeks to create and establish distinctive Native American productions for contemporary audiences.

Above; scene from SIPAPU, an Institute production presented by students on tour in Washington, D.C. (Photo courtesy U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Institute of American Indian Arts); *center;* model of outdoor amphitheater, designed by architect Paolo Soleri, now under construction on the Institute's campus in Santa Fe, N.M. (Photo courtesy U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Institute of American Indian Arts); *below;* make-up and masks.

Opposite page; Marcus Garcia (Santo Domingo/New Mexico) applies make-up for his role in *Mowitch.*

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Throughout the school year a variety of student activities explore various aspects of Native American cultural traditions. One such activity—"Indian Foods Day"—has developed into a special and highly popular annual event, comprising a weekend of activities following weeks of preparation. Students separate into tribal groups, and construct the traditional shelters of their tribes. On the appointed days, traditional foods are cooked, and students wander from group to group to partake of the variety. From time to time, ball games and other impromptu amusements spring up, and occasionally an evening is spent dancing around a communal fire.

Left: traditional tribal shelters erected by students for "Indian Foods Day"; *above:* Navajo hogan; *top center:* Plains tipis; *bottom center:* a rough and tumble ball game; *below:* students in tribal costume perform a "round" dance, one of the popular dances at social gatherings of Indian peoples today.

Opposite page: Institute students preparing fry bread during "Indian Foods Day."

HOW TO APPLY TO THE INSTITUTE

The Institute of American Indian Arts is a co-educational boarding school offering an accredited high school program in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grades that leads to an academic diploma. Students not over 22 years of age who have already completed high school elsewhere may be enrolled in a two-year post-graduate program of exploration of the arts, technical arts training, and college preparation. Tuition, board, and art materials are furnished free to accepted students.

Applicants must be at least one-fourth degree of Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut ancestry, who live on or near an Indian Reservation, and/or who are enrolled in tribes or Native American groups eligible for services offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Full details about application procedures are available from:

The Registrar
Institute of American Indian Arts
Cerrillos Road
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION about the Institute of American Indian Arts and its programs, please write to the following address:

Institute of American Indian Arts
Cerrillos Road
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

MEMORANDUM TO MR. JAMES KEOGH, THE WHITE HOUSE, FROM ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR., FEBRUARY 11, 1969

Per your request of January 16, 1969, I am pleased to submit herewith a study of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, *The American Indian and the Bureau of Indian Affairs—1969*, with recommendations.

Attachment.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—1969

A Study, With Recommendations by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., February 11, 1969

This document is available from ERIC Document Reproduction Service as ED 041 657

BIG CYPRESS DAY SCHOOL, BIG CYPRESS, FLORIDA, DEDICATION SPEECH BY ROBERT L. BENNETT, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, FEBRUARY 12, 1966

Reverend Osceola, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. I bring to you the greetings of your very good friend, Mr. James A. Haley, Congressman from Florida, and also the greetings of Mr. Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, who wish to be remembered to you on this memorable occasion. You have taken me into your homes, you have given me food to eat, and you have presented these lovely gifts to my family and me. I appreciate all of this. More than this, however, I appreciate the feeling of friendship which always happens when Indian people of different tribes meet each other for the first time.

I would like to visit with you today to speak to you about the "wind" of change which is blowing over all people. This wind is blowing in the jungles of Africa, the mountains of South America, the snow and ice of the Arctic, and the Everglades of Florida. There is no way in which this "wind" can be stopped. Along with this wind there is "raining" upon all these people the learning of peoples all over the world. This learning is "raining" down upon the people in Africa, South America, the Arctic, and the Everglades. If the Seminole young people are to grow up in the face of this "wind" of change and this "rain" of learning there is one more thing which is needed and that is the "sunshine" of education. Education is the "sunshine" which will make the young people grow and the place that they will get this education is in your new school which we are dedicating today. Education will help your young people to develop themselves as individual persons. They are born into the Seminole Indian life. They can be very proud of this but they had no control over the fact that they were born as members of the Seminole Indian Tribe. Many of them were born into a very poor family. They had nothing to do with this either. But the one thing which they have something to do with is how they are going to live in the face of this "wind" of change and "rain" of learning. This is what the "sunshine" of education will prepare them for. It is important for your children to know that they are first of all a person. The next important thing for them to know is that they are citizens of this great country, and the third most important thing for them to know is that they are members of the Seminole Indian Tribe which has a great history and tradition. It is important that your children keep this in mind so that they do not get confused as they grow older. They are fortunate to be citizens of this country, and they do not have to work at being Indian because they are already an Indian. They need to work at developing themselves to be good people and it is for this purpose that you have your new school.

The parents and leaders of the Seminole people have things to do also. Most important, they need to build a bridge between themselves and the world into which their children will go when they are educated. When your children are educated and grown, they should know that this bridge is always there so that they can come back and be with you and they can also be in the world where their education and training will take them. It is important for you and for your children that you build this bridge for your young people.

Because a school building is only boards, bricks, and glass, it must have your support to do the things it is supposed to do. I would like to ask your tribal council and the people here to do two things. First of all, I would like to have the tribal council work with the community of Big Cypress to organize a board if education to control the education program which will be taught to your children in this school. I do not mean just to meet with the teachers, but I mean to have a board which would be in control of the school program so that you know what is happening to your children. Secondly, I would ask that the tribal council work with the community and meet and suggest to the Bureau of Indian Affairs a name for this school. I think the school should be named after one of the great Seminole leaders of the past. I hope that you will do these two things. You should elect a school board to control the education of your children in this school. You should suggest to the Bureau of Indian Affairs the name of one of your great leaders of the past in whose honor this school would be named. The reason for your doing this is because it is your school. It is an honor for me to present this school to the people of Big Cypress and to dedicate it to your children.

As your young people leave this school, they and all of us should remember that as the day comes when we face our Maker, He will not ask us what was our race or how high or low was our birth. The only thing He will ask us is what did we do on earth.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. BENNETT, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, OMAHA, NEBR., SEPTEMBER 24–27, 1968

THE FUTURE AND THE FIRST AMERICANS

It is a pleasure for me as your Commissioner, friend, fellow Indian American, and member of NCAI to provide you with a report of my efforts during the past 29 months. By the way, 29 months is a new record for an Indian Commissioner, as the only other Indian Commissioner, Major Eli Parker, was allowed to serve only 26 months.

No Commissioner has received such wonderful support as you have given me. I want you to know that it is appreciated more than I can say. With this kind of support you have made my job easier, the burdens, cares and worries lighter, and the satisfaction from whatever progress has been made much greater.

Indeed, the past several months have been a time of several "firsts" for the First Americans.

For the first time in history—in this year 1968—a President of the United States sent to Congress a message dealing exclusively with American Indians and the social and economic problems confronting them.

For the first time in history, Indian tribal organizations have begun to take an active part in State and regional economic development planning, so that Indian lands will no longer be surrounded by that invisible barrier that separates reservation economies from growth opportunities with their neighboring communities.

For the first time, Indian people are being afforded a partnership with the Federal Government in Indian affairs.

For the first time, the President in his special message, and the Senate in the passage of S. Con. Res. 11 have taken affirmative action to bury the unilateral termination policies of the 1950's and instead offer new hope to the Indian people that they will be masters of their own fate.

For the first time, the education of Indian children has been given priority attention, not only in terms of dollars expended to quantify it but in terms of brainpower invested in giving it *quality*, from kindergarten to college. Hopefully there will never be another generation of Indians who suffer a kind of second-class citizenship because of their second-rate schooling.

Most important of all, for the first time in this century the Indian people have rediscovered themselves as a great people and have begun to reestablish cultural and historic identity. We are on the way once again to full command of our own future.

Now, I am providing you the first Commissioner's report to the Indian people. It is my fervent hope that this will set a precedent so that each and every Commissioner of Indian Affairs will come to you regularly and give an accounting of his administration. You are entitled to this.

Because you will have an opportunity to read this report at your leisure, I will not dwell upon it too much this afternoon. If you have any questions, comments, or criticisms, please feel free to write me. I want you to be fully informed and I hope satisfied that we are working together to achieve partnership in reality and in spirit. The spirit of true partnership is that spirit which makes us in the Bureau of Indian Affairs work in partnership with you because we want to and not because someone told us to.

Although we can develop the capability to meet your needs by providing opportunities for adequate food, clothing, and shelter, I feel that you will be satisfied only if you have a voice in the development of these opportunities. I promise you that as long as it is my honor to be your Commissioner, your voice will be heard.

I believe that our greatest progress has been in the changing role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to meet the changing times. No part of my position gives me more difficulty or more pleasure than that of being your advocate in Government.

I am not unmindful of my obligations to the Federal Government as an executive officer, but I do find a lot of running room to advocate your interests and I use it. I am grateful that Secretary Stewart Udal has supported the Bureau in this role of advocate.

We cannot rest upon our record because we can never be satisfied as long as some of the people are without adequate opportunities to obtain food, clothing and shelter. We can never rest as long as we are confronted with new ideas of concern.

For this reason in particular it is important that we spend time during this convention to analyze certain new issues in Indian affairs that will have a growing and lasting impact upon the ultimate destiny of the Indian people.

These three issues are: The rights of individual Indians under the Constitution of the United States; problems of Indians who are increasingly congregating in off-reservation communities; and, last but hardly least, the young among us.

Each of these issues is a reflection of the fact that the lives of Indians are becoming more and more enmeshed with society as a whole. It is a trend we cannot reverse; and therefore we must help ease the transition so we do not lose.

Civil Rights

The civil rights of American Indians under the Constitution of the United States have been won slowly but not easily. Citizenship has been guaranteed only since 1924. Until the Civil Rights Action of 1964, voting rights of Indians under various State laws were frequently questioned. Job discrimination against Indians existed in many areas of heavy Indian population until equalization of employment opportunities for minorities was further protected by recent Federal law. Most recently, the Civil Rights Act of 1968 gives further protections to the Indian citizenry of this country.

Under the 1968 Act are several titles—II through VII, to be specific—pertaining directly to Indians. Title II, for example, provides redress through Federal courts against arbitrary and capricious treatment by tribal authorities in violation of Constitutional rights. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act relates to the assumption by States of criminal and civil jurisdicton over Indian country. It makes a significant change in Public Law 280, 83rd Congress, by requiring consent of the Indian tribe before assumption of jurisdiction by any State not now having such jurisdiction; and it further provides authority for the United States to accept a retrocession of jurisdiction from States which have previously acquired it.

It would appear that the intent of Congress, under this new Act, is to assure uniformity of justice to all Indians while providing the means for a healthy strengthening of tribal law enforcement authority. It calls for a new model code for the few remaining courts under BIA jurisdiction and for the training of judges in such courts. Such a model code, and such professional training, could well be applicable to tribal courts.

We hope that you will join us to render a service to member tribes—and, conceivably, to other tribes, as well—by providing leadership to see that in time existing tribal laws will relate to the requirements of the new Civil Rights Act. This concept has taken a long time to be supported by law and we must take the opportunity to make it meaningful.

This organization can also help member tribes obtain fullest benefit from other new legislation: The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act; and the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. Both of these laws provide funds for help in improving law enforcement services and in administering justice effectively. These laws qualify Indian tribes for direct participation.

The BIA is ready and willing to help you in this matter.

Off-Reservation Indians

Another issue—one is which this organization and all tribes must move to find solutions—is the question of off-reservation Indians. Thousands of Indian people are moving away from reservation communities, sometimes to nearby towns, sometimes to cities some miles distant. Not all of the numbers who are now settling in such diverse places as Rapid City, South Dakota; the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul; Chicago, San Francisco; and Los Angeles are doing so through the BIA's Adult Vocational Training and Employment Assistance services.

The BIA's mission has not extended to Indians who leave the reservation, except to the extent that it provides short-term services for those on reservations who seek BIA help in relocating.

Neither does the BIA mission extend to Indians whose reservation lands are not under Federal trusteeship control. Large pockets of Indian population in northern New York and Maine, for example, are beyond BIA's purview. So are smaller groups scattered along the east coast from Massachusetts to Georgia, and groups in California that have been "terminated."

Indian organizations, therefore, are the hope of these groups. Through your structure and that of your tribes', you can help them to rally public attention to their cause and public aid to alleviate their pressing needs. Through State and local governments, the Federal Government disburses billions of dollars annually for such services as public schooling, health and welfare, development of community projects, and manpower training. The question is: Are the off-reservation Indians, and the Indians on reservations not under trusteeship, getting a fair share of their community's total Federal outlay?

You need also come to grips with the problems which develop in relationships between those of you who live in Indian communities, and those who live away. We are all of one blood, we all have the same basic goals, we are too few to have any political voice unless we are united.

Indians in far away communities are proud of their Indian heritage, have organized themselves because of this common interest, and seek a meaningful relationship with those of you who are in positions of tribal responsibility.

We need to sit down and start discussions that will open the way for understanding between resident and non-resident Indians. I am sure we will find that we have much in common and that most differences can be resolved. We cannot afford the luxury of disunity, so I suggest that the NCAI use its good offices to bring about useful meetings between those who live in Indian communities and those who are away.

Indian Youth

As the forces of change are at work all over the world—and since the reservation is no longer isolated from the rest of society because of T.V., radio, and all communication media, Indian youth is in turmoil over what they see and hear. This turmoil is good if it is founded in the realities of the issues of today. And, the reality of the young Indian people in Indian country is—that they must learn to live in two worlds so as not to become the victims of both. My concern is that Indian young people not become diverted in their quest for meaningful places in society by those elements who are attempting to tear apart the fiber of American lifeways and who see this period of change as a means to achieve leadership through anarchy. Indian young people should not use their youthful energies to burn themselves out in hate and destruction as some young people are doing, but rather they should use these energies in the agonizing search for social justice. They need to look forward with goals in mind—and not backward in anger. To look backward in anger would only perpetuate discontent, provide no basis for revival of Indian spirit, and use of energies which are needed to build a better future.

We need to appraise our relationship with Indian youth before we find ourselves in treacherous waters—before passion replaces reason—before slogans replace issues—before carrying of signs replaces carrying of pride and dignity. We owe them our best efforts because we look to them for the fulfillment of our dreams. They are our prime resources of vitality and new ideas, and our greatest resource.

How do we establish communication between them and us? We need to create an environment for them to speak out with a sense of responsibility and not of futility. We need to provide a forum by which they can make their voices heard on public issues. We need to talk and listen to each other with mutual respect, and the desire for understanding—and we need to make them feel comfortable in this dialogue, but we do not need always to agree with them. We need to understand them. They want to talk to you the Indian leaders—and not to others. The reason I know this is because many, many young people in the last few months have told me this.

We should seek to build and not to destroy—because in seeking to destroy we become our own victims. We need to think and communicate in realistic terms with sincerity as its basis. And, we need to face life in our times. We need to draw upon the past—but not to rest upon it. We need to keep Indian heritage a living thing—and keep it from becoming stagnant. And the only suggestion I could make on the theme for this conference is to have the word "Living" before Indian Heritage because a stagnant or a dead heritage is of no value. Indian youth are coming on us very strong. They are coming on us in large numbers—they are coming on us better educated—they are coming on us more sophisticated. Fifty percent of the general population of this country is approximately 28 years of age and under. These young people as they come on can be a positive force for good, or they can be a negative force for evil—this is our challenge. Indian culture does not provide a place for the young person because in the Indian culture you went from child to man or from child to woman. Wisdom was related to age, and silence among the young was a virtue. But because the minds of our young have been stimulated by education and new experiences, more than ever before they want to know "why?" and we need to answer. They possess everything to build healthy personalities. They have heredity in which they want to take pride—they come from an environment with which they know they must cope—but they know that they alone must accept responsibility for how they respond to the situations that they will be confronted with in daily life. They will have to accept their heredity, cope with their environment, and say to themselves, "Now what shall I do with myself?"

The rate of suicides among younger Indians is greater than the young people in society generally. The rate of suicides among older Indians is lesser than that of older people in society generally. Young Indian people need to find and know themselves. If they don't find themselves they will not be any good to themselves or to anyone else. It could be that we have not provided them with the sources of strength, we have not helped them to see life in proper perspective, and develop values around which to build their lives. We have not taken them into our confidence to give them the recognition they so desperately want. We have not provided them a means by which they can see that they will ever derive a sense of fulfillment. We must see to it that they get the opportunity to build our Indian heritage anew and help keep it *living and great*; so they can live wholesome lives in the image of man and God.

But, we must start now, because today is already too late for some, and tomorrow will be too late for others. You can do this. In my experience, living on the reservation, going to school, with Indian young people, and 35 years of work among you I've developed an unshakable faith and abiding confidence in Indian people. I know you can rise to this challenge as you have risen to challenges in the past. I look to you for ideals, for goals and for inspiration. I am proud of the restraint and dignity that you have shown in this period of our history.

I am very optimistic for the Indian future because of the leadership that we have and is currently emerging among Indian people both young and adult. I am proud to be one of you.

MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, PRESIDING OFFICERS OF ALL GOVERNING BODIES, FROM ROBERT L. BENNETT, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

A few months after President Johnson swore me in as Commissioner on April 27, 1966, I attended a series of meetings with tribal groups throughout the country to learn conditions as they saw them and to obtain suggestions and recommendations for parnership action between the Indian people and the Federal Government. I have since followed these meetings with visits throughout Indian country to increase my understanding of the true nature of Indian ideas, hopes, and attitudes. The meetings and trips brought many issues and problems into clear focus. A total of 153 tribes and groups at these meetings provided me an excellent cross section of views, some of which reflected local tribal matters and some of which carried implications for all Indians in this country. A compilation of these recommendations and suggestions was distributed to Indian governing bodies and others on March 21, 1967.

With respect to the broad national issues, it was particularly interesting to note that there was considerable uniformity in the views expressed and recommendations made and unanimous agreement that the views of the Indian people be heard.

In the intervening time following those meetings, I have enedavored to implement many of the recommendations and I have committed the best energies of the BIA to deal with those matters which are not yet resolved.

The subjects brought to my attention by the Indian groups fall into the following general categories:

1. Clarification and resolution of certain aspects of Federal-Indian relations;
2. Quality education for Indian children and equality of educational opportunity;
3. Matters relating to other human needs and human development, including improved health and sanitation services, jobs, housing, etc.;
4. Other legislative and policy matters.

Attached is a report of major actions taken in these general areas. Insofar as practicable, the report responds to suggestions and recommendations on the broader national issues made by Indian leaders. Your questions, comments, and criticisms are invited.

Some of you were disappointed in the legislative program because it did not contain sufficient matters of importance and interest to Indian tribes. It was my considered judgment that since most recommendations fell into three areas of: (1) Policy and programs not requiring legislation, (2) appropriations not requiring legislation, and (3) legislative items that legislation was not necessary to carry out all of the suggestions and recommendations made.

The President's special message and other policy and program changes as well as recommendations for increased appropriations implemented two areas and most of the legislative recommendations are reflected in proposed, pending and enacted legislation. In legislative matters it was my considered judgment that one bill seeking all things was not feasible and the two approaches of independent bills and amendments to national legislation qualifying Indian tribes for participation in programs designed for all citizens were considered the best courses to follow.

This report is being made in response to the resolution of the Executive Council of the NCAI in executive session on March 4–5, 1968, and in response to other requests from Indian groups and tribes. It is hoped that this report will set a precedent which would require an annual report by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Indian people to be delivered in person at each annual convention of the NCAI and by mail to all tribes, including the native people of Alaska.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank again the Indian people and leaders of this country for their support and cooperation. I hope that I have been equal to the challenge. My continuing concern is to dedicate myself to your interest so that our joint efforts will bring Indian people closer to the realization of their hopes and their destiny in this great country.

FIRST COMMISSIONER'S REPORT TO INDIAN PEOPLE

FEDERAL-INDIAN RELATIONS

The discussions with Indian leaders and Indian groups reflected a growing concern about Federal Indian relationships in view of the changing times and the need to develop a new era of understanding and relationships to respond to the changing times.

On March 6, 1968, President Johnson confirmed this new era when he sent and unprecedented Message to Congress dealing with problems and needs of American Indians, whom he called "The Forgotten American." A clear-cut stance supporting continued and expanded Federal assistance to Indians and lessening of control by the Federal Government is evident in the following lines from that Message:

"I propose a new goal for our Indian programs: A goal that ends the old debate about 'termination' of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help.

"Our goal must be: A *standard of living* for the Indians equal to that of the country as a whole; *Freedom of Choice*—an opportunity to remain in their homeland, if they choose, without surrendering their dignity; an opportunity to move to the towns and cities of America, if they choose, equipped with skills to live in equality and dignity; *full participation* in the life of modern America, with a full share of economic opportunity and social justice . . ."

The partnership concept opens a new chapter of Indian history. Paternalistic administration of Indian affairs, with the BIA the sole link between Indians and the Government, is a thing of the past. Indian involvement in decision-making—important policy decision-making—is everywhere in evidence. The BIA programs are affected daily by the expressions of Indian views: and Indian aspirations are also reflected in the efforts now being exerted by other Federal agencies.

The changing role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs seeks to alter the trusteeship responsibility of the Federal Government from action to a passive trustee.

The accent is upon Federal reaction to Indian action rather than the reverse. As a result, certain fundamental issues are now coming to the forefront of attention, and policies and legislation reflect what the Indians want.

Some issues—and the present status of accomplishment with respect to their resolution—are the following:

Quality Education and Equality of Educational Opportunity

I appointed a National Indian Advisory Committee on Education and the views of these Indian leaders have been of great help to us in re-assessing BIA's traditional Education programs and policies. We are attempting to be fully responsive to new demands of Indians both youth and adults; needs of Indian children, and new opportunities provided by a number of recently enacted Federal school aid laws.

Indian comments have ranged from the sweeping expression of concern for "curriculum improvements" and "new facilities" to specifics; from the request for kindergartens to aid for graduate school education.

Below is a brief summation of accomplishments in the whole are of education.

Budget

BIA appropriations for the fiscal year 1968 were approximately $240 million, of which more than half was earmarked for education. For the coming year it is $239.6 million, of which half will again be assigned to education programs. The education appropriations to BIA are in addition to funds available under a variety of Federal aid laws, chief among which is $9 million from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Education Professional Development Act, the National Defense Education Act, and the "impact laws" (P.L. 815 and 874).

Headstart

Ten thousand Indian children benefited last year from this pre-school program, under OEO, and President Johnson has called for repeat funding at the same level for this year.

Kindergartens

For the first time in the history of BIA's education system, provision has been made for kindergartens. The 1969 Appropriation Act provides some enrollments this year, and plans are for accelerating rapidly in succeeding years until all Indian children benefit from this additional early school experience, which will complement the Headstart program.

Training Programs for Indian Leaders

Several such programs were inaugurated last year in law enforcement housing administration and tribal government management and others are in operation right now. This year, for example, the Indian-interest organization, ARROW, with planning help from BIA, sponsored 7 university-based programs in various aspects of tribal government, under a grant from the Donner Foundation.

Cooperative Education: State-BIA-Tribal

A number of new public school districts have been established on Indian reservations during the past two years as the result of cooperative planning between the tribe, the BIA and State and local public school officials. Some schools are being operated jointly by public school districts and the BIA. In one instance, to date, Rough Rock School on the Navajo Reservation, a BIA facility was loaned to the tribe which in turn contracted out the entire operation of the elementary school for a pilot program in which the school has been made the focal point of improved community relations and cooperative activities between parents and school officials.

Indian Participation in School Affairs

While advisory school boards had been established for BIA schools, President Johnson in his special message directed that regular school boards be established and members be selected from Indian communities. Plans are also under way for setting up training programs for Indian parents and other interested adults to acquaint them with financing and operational problems of public schools so that they may take a constructive and active role in public school affairs.

Achievement and Aptitude Testing

The use of standard testing devices, adapted to measure with accuracy the relative attainment and potential of Indian students, will become a reqular part of the educational program of BIA schools; and the use of adapted tests will be encouraged in public schools serving Indians. In this way we will have a true measurement of the academic areas in which Indian students are either successful or unsuccessful and a valid guidepost for instituting remedial programs where necessary to give them education of a quality level equal to that available to other American youngsters.

Vocational Training

The quality—in terms of how well the skills fit the needs of the job market—of vocational programs in BIA schools is also being evaluated and whatever adjustments are necessary will be provided for in our future planning. Availability of vocational education in public schools varies with the wealth and size of the school; but Federal aid for vocational education has been stepped up this year and the BIA will do whatever it can to stimulate public school attention to this important segment of education.

Aid for Higher Education

From a high of $1 million only two years ago, the BIA has now more than doubled its grant program for needy Indian high school graduates to attend college. The program does not at this time extend to students wishing to enter advanced studies beyond the baccalaureate level, inasmuch as the demand at the lower level takes all our funds. There are, however, numerous new and relatively new sources of Federal aid for students wishing to pursue advanced specialized studies.

The President in his special message on Indians approved the use of higher education grants to provide for family maintenance of married college students as well as tuition and related educational costs. At present our program does not have funds to cover additional allowances for married students for family expenses, however, we expect to obtain funds to finance this new program.

Indian students are now able to attend sectarian schools of their choice because of the recently enacted P.L. 90–280. This has long been the desire of Indian tribes.

A booklet was developed by BIA and is being currently distributed to Indian high school students which will advise them of all sources of higher education aid. BIA student advisory services for college students are also being expanded, as are guidance and counseling services in our high schools.

BIA School Facilities

Construction funds for schools had a large share of BIA education budget for several years in the immediate past, in order that school accommodations could be provided for every Indian child. The construction program continues in those areas, such as Alaskan villages and other remote locations, where facilities are inadequate or non-existent. Our goal is to provide adequate local schooling near the homes of the children wherever possible to help reduce the need for boarding schools especially for younger children.

Teacher Improvements

The BIA is endeavoring to hire more Indian teachers and to encourage teacher training for Indian youth (who can take better advantage of special funds for teacher education beyond those available through the BIA grant and loan program). At the same time, the BIA has improved its recruitment system for teachers by establishing a special recruiting team and this year instituted a pre-training program for prospective teachers of Indians. In-service training is now an integral part of the BIA education program. Higher salaries (a schedule being developed in cooperation with the Civil Service Commission), better living accommodations, and opportunities for time allowances for specialized training are all incentives being planned to attract first-rate teachers for all grades. The use of Indian teacher aides, especially in the early grades is one of our goals.

Enhancing Indian Culture Through Schools

Development of a new curriculum is underway, designed to bring to Indian children a fuller appreciation of their origins and an understanding of their own important place in the making of their country. The teaching of Indian languages is being encouraged as rapidly as possible, beginning with a search for Indian teachers and encouragement of Indian youth to enter the teaching profession.

Strenuous efforts are also being made to provide Indian children with greater opportunity to participate in public school extra-curricular activities and in intra- and inter-mural activities between public and BIA schools.

The often-voiced criticism that Indian children are the victims of low expectations on the part of teachers is one which the BIA is taking to heart. In our own schools and in our consultations with public school authorities we are endeavoring to create an environment wherein the Indian child is made to feel comfortable in the learning process and in his relations with non-Indian teachers and fellow students, and to believe in himself. This should help also to overcome failure expectancy on the part of the student.

If our education goals can be summarized at all, perhaps we can state them this way:

"From the preschooler to the high schooler, we are determined to see that our schools do the job they are supposed to be doing—and that is teaching Indian children to move with confidence into careers of the future, living a full life of self-awareness and self-sufficiency."

MATTERS RELATING TO OTHER HUMAN NEEDS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Some of the most conspicuous efforts on our part are as follows:

Job Training

Indian unemployment for the past several years has been ten times the national average. We are moving in on the problem from all directions, rallying the support of other Federal agencies and drawing on the technical expertise of private entrprise to (1) create more jobs; and (2) provide the kind of training opportunities that will enable those without skills or working experience to acquire marketable skills.

Illustrative of these programs are the following activities: Establishment (summer of 1967) of the Madera Employment Training Center using the site of the former Air Force Base at Madera, California, to provide a family-focused training experience for hard-core unemployed Indians. On-the-job training in occupations where jobs are plentiful, combined with basic education and a full range of medical and social services for family members of trainees, are features of this employment assistance effort. The program is operated by Philco-Ford Corporation under a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

A similar project opened early this year on the site of the deactivated base at Roswell, New Mexico. Roswell offers essentially the same services as the Madera Employment Center. It is a national program with families being referred from reservations throughout the country with primary emphasis from States in the Southwest. The capacity at the center is 75 family groups and 75 single men and 75 single women.

The United Tribes of North Dakota are proposing the establishment of a family residential training center similar to Madera and Roswell at the former Lewis and Clark Job Corps site at Bismarck, North Dakota. This center would primarily serve Indian people from the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Minnesota, and also Indians from other States. At the request of the United Tribes, RCA submitted a proposal for the operation of the center. This proposal, together with a request for funds has been submitted to the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS).

The Presidential Task Force has asked for the use of a portion of the Glasgow Air Force Base for the establishment of yet another family residential training center. Another project, smaller in scope and designed for the benefit of the Mississippi Choctaw community (near Philadelphia, Mississippi) was the first to be instituted and is succeeding in transforming a group of illiterate Indian sharecroppers into skilled wage earners.

Opening of BIA employment assistance centers in large cities where Indian population is concentrated—e.g., Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Minneapolis, Rapid City.

Legislation enacted this year, supported vigorously by BIA, increases the authorization for the Adult Vocational Training and Employment Assistance Program from $15 million to $25 million annually. The increase is a Congressional response to the increasing demands by Indian adults for this all-expenses-paid training and placement service. In 1967 alone, nearly 10,000 Indian men and women were being trained for employment—five times the number served only four years ago.

A special training program has been commenced in cooperation with the U.S. Prisons and U.S. Probation Service. Under this program the Bureau of Indian Affairs works with institutions to plan for the release of inmates under a program of planned rehabilitation which involves the individual inmate. Through this we are accepting these young people here in Bureau schools, institutional training centers such as Madera and Roswell for placement in jobs or for training under adult educational training program. This program should prove very helpful to young Indian people whose lives might otherwise lead them into more serious difficulties.

Housing

Acceleration of new home building and home improvements has been marked during the past year. It has been just over four years since the first public housing was provided on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. As the result of interagency cooperation involving the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Economic Opportunity, the Interior Department, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the program has grown to the point where it involves over 80 tribes and nearly 3,000 housing units which are occupied or under construction (double the number a year ago); and some 5,000 additional units are in various stages of planning.

The President, in his Message to Congress, proposed that Indian housing aid appropriations be doubled for the coming fiscal year (to $6 million). He also requested the Secretary of HUD to increase Indian home construction by an additional 1,000 units this coming year. The Home Improvement Program initiated by the BIA has proven very popular because it helps families who might not otherwise desire or qualify for public housing.

Job Corps Facilities

Negotiations are still under way to acquire facilities and equipment of deactivated Job Corps Centers in Indian areas for possible use in recreational programs for youth, industrial development and as training centers.

Law and Order

We have finally been successful in obtaining an increase in funds for law and order services to reservation communities for the present fiscal year which is in response to the many continuing requests from tribal groups. These funds will permit the tribes to upgrade their endeavors in the following activities in particular:

(1) Initiating and expanding contracts with Indian tribes for law and order services, to provide additional police and jail personnel.

(2) Initiating a juvenile delinquency control program to provide training and to add a substantial number of juvenile officers and probation officers for assignment on reservations to work in the specific areas of juvenile crime and delinquency prevention and rehabilitation of offenders.

(3) Operation of a formalized training program for all Bureau and tribal law and order employees to equip them with knowledge of procedures and concepts related to their duties, with particular emphasis on the recent Civil Rights Act of 1968.

(4) Provide a number of professional attorneys to work with the Indian courts on a part-time basis and to add to the larger Indian courts a modern court recording and record-keeping system.

Following the legislative policies earlier described in this report we have been successful in establishing the eligibilty of tribes to participate in the benefits of both the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of June 19, 1968, and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of July 31, 1968.

Tribal Work Experience Projects

Several tribal governing bodies have contracted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide work training projects for selected general assistance recipients. Projects are related to community improvement, adult education and training, and other tribal efforts. Participants receive from the tribe payments in lieu of general assistance, together with additional amounts to meet costs of transportation and other needs related to the work. The contracts are funded with appropriated BIA money. The ten participating reservations are San Carlos, Gila River, Papago, Fort Berthold, Fort Belknap, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Fort Peck, Fort Hall, and Northern Cheyenne.

Social Work

Many Indian leaders have asked for more intensive and widespread social worker services. In response to this felt need, additional funding for the coming fiscal year, are being requested, which, if appropriated, will enable us to render more "people-to-people" services and help tribes relate more effectively to programs available through other Federal, State, and private sources.

HEALTH SERVICES

The Assistant Surgeon General and Director of Indian Health, Dr. E. S. Rabeau, has joined with me and the BIA staff in Washington in bringing closer coordination between the two agencies through joint planning in the general area of community services. The impact of these efforts will show increasingly as Indian communities begin to expand socially and economically under the spur of new development grants.

The stepped-up activities in Indian health services are reflected in some of these 1967 statistics recently reported by DIH:

Medical Care Facilities

2 new hospitals completed—Lawton, Oklahoma; Belcourt, North Dakota.

7 health centers opened, including one providing comprehensive community services to Indians living both on and off the reservation at Rapid City, South Dakota.

1 new school health center and 8 health stations started.

Sanitation Facilities

65 projects authorized to construct safe water and/or waste disposal facilities which will benefit some 8,000 families.

Dental Services

626,460 treatments provided—*55,600 more than* in 1966.

Mental Health Services

Staff and activities of the pilot mental health project at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, were expanded as were consultative activities centered at the Alaska Native Hospital at Anchorage, working with other PHS hospitals and BIA schools.

Alcoholism control programs expanded.

Additional psychiatric staff added to help serve Indian boarding schools.

Indian People Trained

1 Indian physician and 1 dentist supported for residency training.

About 60 young women graduated from 1-year course at PHS School of Nursing; 25 licensed practical nurses given advanced clinical or public health training.

25 trained as dental assistants.

Hundreds trained as medical social assistants, health record clerks, nursing assistants, and food service employees.

45 Alaska natives now being trained as community health aides.

Plans for training 700 Indians and Alaska natives as community health aides next year.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN-OWNED RESOURCES

In the course of my regional meetings with Indian leaders, and in subsequent meetings in Washington with various tribal delegations, it became clear that the Indian people wanted development of their resources and not just custodial and conservation programs. The views on economic development which were most frequently expressed center on the following needs:

1. Need for more overall community development to stimulate employment locally;
2. Need for greater Indian participation in Federal and State development aid programs. Related to this was the expressed desired for more EDA-type services to reach tribes not presently eligible, because of geographic or population limitations, for regional planning grants and grants and loans for facilities construction;
3. Need for more credit to stimulate local business and industrial development of commercial recreation potentials on Indian lands;
4. Need for more and better roads in Indian areas to improve health, education, economic, and other related conditions;
5. Need for more concentrated effort in development of commercial recreation potentials on Indian lands;
6. Need for technical aid to tribes to complete feasibility studies as a preliminary to reservation development on a planned, systematic and profitable basis.

It gratifies me to be able to report that considerable progress has been made in each of these directions during the past year. Below is a summary. For reasons of space, it does not attempt to show progress on a reservation-by-reservation basis, but does illustrate the general tenor of activities, all of which are a type that can have direct benefits for each individual Indian area if Indian initiative is applied.

Local Jobs for Indians

Sixteen Indian reservations are now eligible under provisions of Defense Manpower Policy #4, which allows them preferential consideration in all procurement contracts with Government. This will sharply improve the chances of larger reservations furnishing facilities and employment in production of defense and other Government-purchased items.

The Bureau has, within the past few months, been working with the Equal Employment Opportunity Officer of the Federal Highway Administration in Kansas City, Missouri, to identify Indians in the 7 States of the Administration's 5th District who will be considered for employment by all road construction companies who do highway construction work on federally assisted projects. The Bureau furnished the Administration with a list of qualified Indians, and there is a high potential for employment under the terms of the Equal Employment Opportuunity Act. The 7 states in the Administration's 5th District are: Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska.

The BIA continues the use of Indian labor in all its force account projects on reservations and encourages the hiring of Indians by contractors on reservations; and "hire and train Indians" is a priority administrative policy of the BIA's present administration.

Indian Involvement in Regional Planning and Development

The BIA has established a formal liaison office to assure close continuing relations with other Federal agencies that my be of service to Indian reservations. The result has been a speedup of the process of Government in channeling funds from many directions into Indian areas. Efforts range from school aid to manpower training to overall community development. A new awareness of Indian needs on the part of other agencies is increasingly evident. For example, the Economic Development Administration and OEO designated 15 Indian areas for multi-purpose development aid through action programs with OEO, HUD, DIH, and BIA all involved in the Federal effort in partnership with the tribes. An additional 15 Indian areas have been designated for planning phases of multipurpose development aid.

More and more Indian tribes are thinking in terms of regional development. The Zunis last summer proposed a 24-point total redevelopment program. The Pimas of Gila River are engaged in a series of development endeavors—industrialization, recreation, etc.—in tandem with their neighboring non-Indian communities. And most recently, 8 Indian reservations in Arizona banded together as an economic development assistance from the Federal Government.

The industries now in operation on or near Indian reservations through the efforts of our Industrial Development program show a wide diversification of products from underwear to diamond processing. An analysis of these industries shows that a total of 124 industrial and commercial enterprises, generating some 11,060 job opportunities, over half of which are available to Indians, have been established. This is an increase of approximately 27 plants and over 2,660 jobs during the past year. Further, as an example of the awareness and need for increased self-help and determination is the establishment to date of 32 Indian tribal industrial development programs with 46 active industrial committees. Over $12 million has been set aside for development of industrial opportunities near Indian areas. A total of $60 million has been invested in buildings and equipment, with the greater portion coming from private sources.

A few representative examples of established industrial enterprises are the (1) General Dynamics Corporation on the Navajo Reservation, (2) Fairchild Semiconductor Division at Shiprock, (3) Burnell-Nytronics, Inc., on the Laguna Reservation, (4) Sequoyah Carpet Mills, Inc., in Oklahoma, (5) Amphenol Corporation on the Seminole Reservation and (6) the White Swan Industries, Inc., on the Yakima Reservation. These plants are the results of team effort on the part of the Indian tribes, various Government agencies, such as the Economic Development Administration, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and private sources such as banks and the industries working cooperatively to develop these enterprises.

Industrialization at this pace doesn't just happen. It is made to happen, and the BIA has been a major source of direct help to Indian tribes by serving as a "finder" of industries in search of new locations and a "finder" of Federal and private sources of credit for tribes and industries to open new enterprises.

To support the establishment of these industries, the BIA has contracted with 53 employers in fiscal year 1968 to provide on-the-job training to Indians residing near these plants. This training covers a period from 4 weeks to 2 years, with the Bureau reimbursing the company for providing the on-the-job training.

Overall, we are looking to a new concept in providing jobs for Indians on or near reservations which combines the establishment of industries on reservations with comprehensive job training practices for potential Indian employees. This concept is patterned after the Comprehensive Technical Training Plan adopted by some of the Southern States to induce industry to use the manpower in these States. This plan provides for the training of potential employees in the technical aspects of specific employment, and carries with it basic literacy education, job orientation, family counseling and preemployment work experience, and such other services as may be required to provide the unemployed with skills to become a productive employee. The plan then brings together the trained personnel and the necessary facilities to produce a successful industrial enterprise. In a majority of the cases where industry is established, the local community has made the buildings and other facilities available on a lease-purchase type of arrangement with the company.

Recreational Development

Although activity in this very promising sphere moved slowly last year. I am happy to say that it has received the necessary impetus now to become a major feature of reservation development. The restrictions on foreign travel and the emphasis upon American tourist travel at home rather than abroad will undoubtedly result in measurable benefits to Indians during the coming summer. If services are reasonably adequate—and our joint efforts during the next few months should be to assure their adequacy—then the long-term benefits, the carry-over benefits, will be felt in each year to come.

Credit

As I have testified before Congress, the single greatest obstacle to economic development of backward Indian areas has been the lack of base capital to stimulate local Indian initiative and at the same time to attract private investment as partners in Indian development. Legislation is now pending before Congress to spark this kind of initiative and investment including Title I of the Indian Resources Development bill.

The main purpose of this proposal is to provide Indians with a development loan fund and managerial and corporate tools that would make Indian areas more equally competitive with surrounding areas in attracting commercial interest and investment. It would encourage the development of industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises on or near Indian reservations. It would stimulate Indians to own and manager such enterprises. It would make possible the best economic use of Indian-owned property and financial resources to obtain maximum returns to Indian owners.

Roads

A program to improve roads on Indian reservations is outlined in the President's Message to Congress on Indians. He said: "The woefully inadequate road systems in Indian areas must be improved. Good roads are desperately needed for economic development. And good roads may someday enable the Indian people to keep their young children at home instead of having to send them to far-away boarding schools.

"I propose an amendment to the Federal Highway Act increasing the authorization for Indian road construction to $30 million annually beginning in Fiscal 1970."

We have been successful in getting this authorization approved by Congress for the next two years in the National Highway Act of 1968.

Planning Studies

Under Section 701 of the Housing Act (as amended in 1964), BIA revolving credit funds can now be accepted for the non-Federal share of project costs for reservation planning. Furthermore, we are striving for a proposed further amendment to the Housing Act that the following wording be added to Section

701 "; Provided, further, that such a grant may be made for up to 100 per centum of such estimated cost when made for planning for an Indian reservation." This combined with other aids now available through other Federal agencies, such as the Economic Development Administration, can help tribes that are without tribal funds to complete planning and commence construction and related projects that are directed toward overall community and area development.

Indian Resources Development Bill

As commented by Secretary Stewart L. Udall upon transmitting to the Congress the Indian Resources Development Bill (subsequently introduced as S. 1816 and H.R. 10560), he considered this most important legislation proposed for American Indians since the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934.

In my testimony on S. 1816 before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Senate, I said that this proposal would permit Indians to compete more fully for all the economic advantages open to Americans. I stated that the Bill was drafted after extended discussions with Indian leaders over a period of several months and contained many of their recommendations. My statement contained remarks on each of the several subtitles under Title I, II, III and IV of the Bill.

I included in my testimony the statement that when copies of the Indian Resources Development Bill were sent to Tribal leaders, I stated that equality of economic opportunity is the seed from which equality of social opportunity grows. I concluded my testimony by saying that economic opportunity by modern-day measures means the chance for communities to compete successfully for industrial and commercial development; that land a property is still the beginning point for economic development, but it is necessary to apply imaginative, new approaches to the use of land and resources if Indian tribes and Indian families are to ride the wave of economic growth in the United States.

Hearings were also held to allow Indians an opportunity to express their views and recommendations on May 15, and the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs held field hearings on this Bill. No action has been taken by the committee of the Congress on this proposal.

Continuing Federal Responsibilities

House Concurrent Resolution 108 (83d Congress) has been the subject of major concern among many Indian groups and individuals concerned lest the social and economic gains being made now would be lost if Federal responsibility for Indian affairs were lessened—a likelihood if the sense of S. Con. Res. 108 were translated into law. The present position of the present administration on this matter is stated quite forcefully in the President's Special Message of March 7 wherein he states "I propose a new goal for our Indian programs: A goal that ends the old debate about 'termination' of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help." However, a resolution—S. Con. Res. 11—stating a new Indian policy was introduced in the Senate in the present 90th Congress; and hearings were held March 5, giving tribes the opportunity to express their view. S. Con. Res. 11 reflects the expressed desires of Indian individuals and tribal groups as they have been conveyed to me and to other officials in both the Executive and Legislative Departments of our Government, and the spirit and tone of its language would preclude the threat of termination engendered by the 83rd Congress. This Resolution was passed by the Senate on September 12.

Hunting and Fishing Treaty Rights

There have been several recent developments on the matter of Indian hunting and fishing treaty rights, a subject of controversy in recent years particularly in the Northwest. A number of bills have been introduced, some of which recognize Indian rights as paramount and some which do not.

You can rest assured that the Bureau of Indian Affairs will do its utmost to protect the Integrity of Indian hunting and fishing rights for the best long-range interest of the Indian people. The Department of the Interior has been instrumental in securing a consideration of Indian views in the State of Oregon. Departmental regulations issued in July 1967 assure proper protection of Indian treaty rights, while recognizing the importance of resource conservation practices.

A recent decision by the U.S. District Court in the Eastern District of Washington (*Alvin Settler v. Yakima Tribal Council*) provide a basic reaffirmation of the inherent sovereign right of the tribe, guaranteed by treaty, to regulate hunting and fishing by its members not only on the reservation but on off-reservation fishing sites reserved to the tribe by treaty.

Using these rights, the Yakima tribal authorities closed down the fishing activities of its members on the Columbia River this spring when the fish run slowed down to a point of damaging the run. The tribal authorities took this action fully a week before the State authorities took similar action.

Another recent case was, unfortunately, decided against the Indians. The Supreme Court of Washington upheld a ruling of a lower court that the Muckleshoot Tribe had no right to fish "at their usual and accustomed places" because the tribe was not a signatory to the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855. The Indians, with assistance from the Department of Justice, sought a writ of certiorari from the United States Supreme Court, but the Court refused to grant certiorari.

If the opportunity presents itself, we will undoubtedly seek a Federal court review of the question. In the meantime action has been instituted against the States of Oregon and Washington for repressive rules and regulations they have applied since the decision.

On the other hand, the Attorney General for the State of Wisconsin, in an opinion dated January 23, 1967, reversed an earlier opinion by holding that the State of Wisconsin has no jurisdiction to apply its hunting, fishing, and trapping laws to Indians residing on non-patented reservation lands when the Indian engaged in hunting, fishing, and trapping within the reservation boundaries. This ruling applies to all the reservations in Wisconsin, excluding the Menominee, which is now a county and within the jurisdiction of the State for such purpose, but even here the Supreme Court held that termination legislation of the Menominees did not terminate their tribal fishing and hunting rights.

Aside from the legislative and judicial arena, the BIA itself can exert some influence in protecting and enhancing the tribal fishing rights, and we are making all efforts in that direction.

Heirship

Many of the tribes have commented on and recommended affirmative legislative action to resolve the perennially pressing heirship problem. As you are aware, many proposals have been introduced in past Congresses and several formulas have been devised to deal with this question. The Senate has passed S. 304 of the 90th Congress, which increases the revolving loan fund and deals with the heirship problem. This Bill is now pending before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

The Bureau has also drafted a proposed bill to deal with this question. Our proposal is presently pending approval by the Bureau of the Budget, and we are hopeful approval will be shortly forthcoming. It provides four alternative methods of solving the heirship problem, including we think an acceptable revision of the "Church formula." I sincerely believe that our proposal, if approved and enacted, will be flexible enough in its alternatives to meet the needs and enjoy the support of all concerned tribes.

Indian Land Claims

Almost without exception, those tribes which had claims on file with the Indian Claims Commission recommended that the life of the Commission be extended beyond its original expiration date of 1966. Efforts of the BIA, in cooperation with the tribes, resulted in enactment of a law extending the Commission's life for another five years and providing for 5 Commissioners instead of the original 3, so that its work may be speeded up. (See attached list for status of judgment awards.)

The matter of Alaska Native land claims is also moving toward settlement, with combined BIA and Indian efforts bringing to the forefront of Congressional attention the importance of resolving satisfactorily an issue that has been pending since the acquisition of Alaska in 1867 and has become increasingly urgent since Alaska became a State with its own claims upon lands. Hearings have been held on S. 1964, S. 2020, S. 2690, and S. 3586 on July 12, 1968.

A major regional issue involves the *Indians of California*, whose most responsible spokesman urge that the services of the BIA and the Division of Indian Health, USPHS, be fully available to all California Indians. The BIA is at present examining the possibilities of enhancing Federal aid to California schools serving Indian children under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. Meanwhile, a resolution passed by the California Senate requests the Congress of the United States to provide for full financial participation by California Indians in all Federal programs, and the Congressional delegation has recommended favorable action on this resolution.

As a consequence, BIA services are being restored for California Indians on a selective basis; such as, admissions to Sherman Institute, higher education scholarships and employment assistance.

We are also accepting limited enrollment of Indian students of the Northwest in the Chemawa School at Salem, Oregon.

Indian Civil Rights

There has been the feeling in some quarters that, while the civil rights of individual Indians are adequately protected by Constitutional guarantees against Federal and State infringement, no such protection existed against actions of tribal governments in their relations with tribal members. There has been considerable congressional efforts in recent years to enact legislation insuring that individual Indian rights are protected against unlawful intrustion by tribal governments. These efforts have included extensive field investigations into Indian rights by a special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary; the introduction of remedial legislation in the 88th, 89th, and 90th Congress; and committee hearings on such legislation. These efforts culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of April 11, 1968 (82 Stat. 73), which contains six titles relating to Indians and Indian affairs.

Title II of that Act, the so-called "Indian Bill of Rights," guarantees to individual Indians certain rights in their relations with tribal governments similar to those rights under the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. The title also makes available to such Indians a writ of habeas corpus from the Federal district court to test the legality of their detention by a tribal government.

Title III requires the Secretary of the Interior to draft a model code for courts of Indian offenses. This code, if adopted in lieu of the code contained in the Code of Federal Regulations, will have no effect upon those tribes maintaining their own judicial systems.

Title VI amend Public Law 83-280 to provide that States may assume jurisdiction over Indian lands only with the consent of the tribe involved expressed by tribal referendum. It also provides that those States which have already assumed jurisdiction over Indian lands may retrocede jurisdiction to the United States.

The other three "Indian " titles of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 deal with secretarial approval of attorney contracts with Indian tribes, Federal jurisdiction over Indian crimes, and certain legal materials relating to Indians.

Steps are now being taken by Department and Bureau officials to familiarize Bureau and tribal personnel with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act and to make plans for initiating training dealing with the increased responsibility and obligations imposed on tribal government and court procedure.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

To conclude this report, I wish to cite some of the efforts the BIA is making under my direction to enhance the image of the Indian people in the public mind and to foster a fuller exchange of thought between Indian and non-Indian communities.

Greatly accelerated commercial industrial development activities in some Indian areas has resulted in closer and more congenial communication between tribal groups and the neighboring non-Indian communities. The spill-over effect is being felt in better relations with local school officials, local health and welfare authorities and other such State and local agencies.

As a means of improving communications between Indians and the BIA, I commenced a procedure more than a year ago of reporting periodically to tribal governing bodies through the device of memoranda relating to all important policy developments or impending matters of a legislative or administrative nature which warrant their attention and reaction.

To provide a better exchange of information between tribes and Federal agencies, we also instituted the monthly periodical, INDIAN RECORD, which provides an opportunity for the exchange of information and views on all developments in Indian Affairs. We invite information reports for this publication from all Indian areas.

We have greatly broadened and strengthened BIA relations with public school authorities in order to help assure greater benefits to Indian students attending public schools. Along the same line, we urge school districts to make Indian adults welcome in organizations and other bodies devoted to education affairs. Indian school boards are being created to serve all local BIA-operated schools, and a national Indian advisory council on education has been operative for more than a year.

We have made a strenuous and intensive effort to solicit Indian views on matters requiring legislation, and have directed the BIA stance on all issues to reflect the majority Indian viewpoint as made known to us.

All community relations and tribal involvement is based upon the concept of the community development process. This process has been the subject of several meetings during the past year between tribal leaders and Bureau staff. It is hoped that this process will be fundamental in all Bureau-Indian relations. Training in the community development process will be continuing and it is expected that Bureau and Indian people will be involved in the continuing series of training citizens. Commitment to the community development process is necessary and eventually should be an inherent factor in our dealings with each other.

Some New Directions and Areas of Concern

We are busily engaged in administrative actions which would establish the true nature of the various administrative levels of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; that is, agency, area and Central Office. We are working to establish the agency as the main operational office of the BIA with as much delegation to local authority as there are resources to carry out the delegated responsibilities. The area function will be to provide coordination, supervision, and resource services to the field operations and to be the first line of appeal from agency decision. The Washington Office needs to be the planning, programing, budgeting, legislative, and policy office of Indian affairs withdrawing as much as possible from either operation or supervision particularly of agency operations. Complementary to the delegations of authority will be a review of the rules and regulations in 25 CFR to eliminate as many controls as possible established by these regulations above and beyond the legislative requirements. Revisions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs manual also are being undertaken so that much of the material in the manual will be published and operational handbooks and put in the nature of assistance and guidance rather than requirements on the part of responsible staff.

I have considerable concern about the lack of integrated communities at Indian agencies and there is an in-housing committee studying this problem to make recommendations to me as to the best means of accomplishing a truly integrated community at all locations where we have Bureau facilities. This should develop community interest, spirit, and pride and be another factor in arriving at the partnership concept we are all thinking about.

Other areas of concern which are just mentioned but to which tribes and the Bureau need to give increasing attention are: (1) the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, (2) the off-reservation Indians and their impact on the Bureau for services and on the tribes for membership and representation, (3) Indian youth and their impact on the Bureau and tribes with the suggestion that a place be provided for them.

It is believed that one of the great achievements of the Bureau in its role as a Federal agency has been to become an advocate for the Indian people in government and elsewhere. Through this role Indian people know that they have a spokesman for them in government circles when policies and other matters affecting them are discussed. By this process it is possible to bring to the attention of the policy makers of government the goals, aspirations and hopes of Indian people. It is hoped that in the future, government policies will reflect the advocacy role which the Bureau of Indian Affairs now has to promote goals and objectives of Indian people.

This concludes the first Commissioner's report to the Indian people and it is hoped that a precedent can be established for reports on an annual basis.

Other Legislative Matters

Some of the recommendations and concerns expressed during my meetings with Indians throughout the country reflected problems of a regional or local nature. Those that involved only a single tribe and a purely local concern are too numerous to cite in this summary report, but I wish to take this opportunity to assure you that each and every matter that has been called to my attention will be given due consideration.

Following is a list of laws enacted by the 90th Congress which are concerned primarily with named tribes: (Claims Judgment Awards legislation listed separately)

PUBLIC LAW

90-24—Transfer of tribal lands, Fort Peck Reservation.
90-64—Dedication of streets, Agua Caliente Reservation.
90-71—Battle Mountain Colony, trust lands.
90-107—Fort McDermitt grazing reserve.
90-143—Cancel irrigation construction costs, Fort Peck.
90-182—Long-term leasing, Gila River.
90-184—Longer-term leases on San Carlos.
90-229—Trust lands for Squaxin Island.
90-256—Determine land rights of Navajo and Ute Mountain Tribes.
90-272—Navajo reservoir, water contracts.
90-279—Chilocco Indian school lands.
90-287—Tiwa Indians, Texas.
90-306—Amending 1933 Act—Navajo lands in Utah.
90-308—Crow Minerals.
90-309—Navajo Centennial.
90-310—Lands to Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribe.
90-317—Trust lands for Wind River.
90-333—Acceptance of gifts for benefit of Indians.
90-335—Authorize purchase, sale, and exchange of lands on Spokane Indian Reservation.
90-355—Longer-term leases on Hualapai Reservation.
90-393—Amending 1962 Act—Land acquisition for Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project.
90-402—Isolated land tracts for Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.
90-414—Supplementing P.L. 87-734 and P.L. 87-735 retitle certain lands in Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian reservations.
90-424—Northern Cheyenne minerals.
90-468—Pine Ridge Gunnery Range land exchange.
90-476—Amending 1959 Act pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe.
—Swinomish lands—Long-term leasing, etc.

STATUS OF JUDGMENT AWARDS AS OF 9/19/68

Legislation authorizing use of judgment funds enacted by the 90th Congress for:

Chehalis, Docket 237; Chippewas, Docket 18-B; Emigrant New York, Docket 75; Flathead, Docket 61; Loyal Creek, Docket 1; Ottawa, Docket 303; Sac and Fox, Dockets 138, 143, 195; Confederated Utes, Docket 327; Cheyenne-Arapaho, Docket 329-B; Iowa, Dockets 79, 138;

Mescalero, Docket 22-B, Yakima-Colville, Dockets 166, 222, 224;

Spokane, Dockets 331, 331-A; Colville, Dockets 181 A&B; Quechan, Docket 319; Creek, Docket 21; Creek, Docket 276; Chickasaw, Docket 269; California, Dockets 31, 37, 80, 80-D, 347; Delaware, Docket 337;

Southern Paiute, Dockets 88, 330, 330-A; and Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, Dockets 258 and 259.

In addition legislation is being sought to make available to the beneficiaries judgments rendered for: Kickapoo, Dockets 145, 316; Navajo, Ct. Cls. 49692; Shoshone-Bannock, Dockets 326 D-H, 366, 367; Sac and Fox, Dockets 219, 220; Sioux, Blackfeet-Gros Ventre, Fort Peck Assiniboine, Docket 279-A; Sioux, Eastern, Dockets 142, et al; Sioux, Standing Rock, Ct. Cls. 47567; Wea (Peoria), Docket 314-E; Umatilla, Dockets 264, 264-A&B; Muckleshoot, Docket 88, Peoria, Docket 314; Seminole, Dockets 150, 248; and Snohomish, Docket 125.

The following is legislation that is pending either in the Senate or House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that is not mentioned elsewhere in this paper:

S. 488—Relating to membership in tribal organizations.

S. 1764—Repeal Section 7 of the Yakima enrollment Act (Hearings held in both houses).

S. 2257—Lands in trust for the Washoe Tribe (Hearings held in Senate).

S. 282—Colville termination (Passed Senate. Hearings held in House).

S. 285—Long-Term leasing (all reservations) (Passed Senate and referred to House).

S. 778—Apostle Island Lakeshore (Passed Senate, referred to House).
S. 1624, S. 1625, H.R. 3306—Land to Taos Pueblo-Blue Lake (H.R. 3306 Passed House. Hearings held in Senate).
S. 2716—Amend Federal laws in Oklahoma (county to district judge).
H.R. 15739—Offset judgment, Indians of California.
H.R. 17684—Longer-term leases Cochiti, Pojoaque, Tesuque, and Zuni (Hearings held in House).

The following Bills are pending Administrative action:

H.R. 789—Stockbridge Munsee submarginal lands
H.R. 4789—Lands to Burns Paiute Colony
H.R. 5706—Compensation and validation of land titles—Crow
H.R. 5990—White Earth submarginal lands
H.R. 12002—Trust land—Quechan
H.R. 15924—Amending 1963 Act re isolated tracts on Rosebud Reservation.
H.R. 16264—Longer-term leases on Yavapai-Prescott Indian Reservation.
H.R. 16991—To amend the laws relating to the administration of Indian affairs
S. 1638—Soboba water supply
S. 2647—Miami termination
S. 2520—Conveyance of scattered tracts in Oklahoma
S. 2594—Mineral interests in trust for Chippewa Cree of Rocky Boy's
S. 3148—Authorize purchase, sale and exchange of land, Couer d'Alene

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., June 2, 1969.

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Recently Mr. Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, appeared before your Subcommittee on Indian Education. At that time he agreed to provide certain information for the record.

We are enclosing his answers to the various questions raised.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK A. BRACKEN,
Legislative Counsel.

In response to various questions raised by members of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education on March 27, 1969, the following information is provided:

On page 496, Senator Mondale asked for a breakdown of *graduate* and *undergraduate*, by tribe, of college grants in aid from 1962 to this year.

Enclosed is a study of the number of undergraduate and graduate grants by tribal affiliation made from Fiscal Year 1962–1969. Fiscal Year 1969 figures are based on estimates made by Area Scholarships Officers on March 5, 1969. Attachment A

The extent and accuracy of the study is based on pertinent records on hand. For earlier years in the study, percentages based on the past two years' records were used where rosters and other data were lacking.

In considering the total number of Indian students in undergraduate and graduate studies for this time span, it is well to keep in mind that the Bureau sponsored about one-half of the total number in college during this period. Other scholarship sources fund a much greater percentage of Indians in graduate study than does the Bureau.

On page 502, Senator Mondale asked for an explanation as to whose responsibility it is to build roads in the Navajo and whether it is shared exclusively with local government and if it is, who has that responsibility.

The Bureau has the responsibility for building roads on the Navajo Reservation. The Federal-Aid Highway Act provides contract authorization for road construction, and the Interior Appropriation Act provides funds for road maintenance. The counties on the reservation have provided no funds for either construction or maintenance.

State highway construction has been confined to such transcontinental routes as U. S. 66, U. S. 89, and U. S. 666. The Bureau has constructed several roads in the State highway class such as Arizona 264, and Arizona and New Mexico

U. S. 164 which the States have taken over and are maintaining. These were constructed by the Bureau under the Hopi-Navajo Rehabilitation Act.

Page 510, Commissioner Bennett offered to provide a report on the number of jobs brought to Indian communities. Enclosed is a "Summary Record of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises Established on or Near Reservations and Jobs Generated as Result of Indian Industrial Development Program by Size of Plant", which provides this information. Attachment B

On page 521 Senator Hughes asked for a record of what is being done about Indian alcoholism throughout the country. We are presently working with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on the compilation of up-to-date information on Indian alcoholism and will provide this information to the Committee in the near future.

In a fuller response to Senator Mondale's question on *page 538* as to whether the Bureau of Indian Affairs had tried to be included in the benefits of the Bilingual Education Act, the following information is provided. It is taken from *Bilingual Education Programs, Hearings Before the General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor*, House of Representatives, 90th Congress, June 28 and 29, 1967.

Dr. Carl Marburger, then Assistant Commissioner for Education, testified in favor of the bill (p. 287–290). In part, he said, "I simply wish to indicate our intense interest in programs that deal with the whole problem of bilingual education. We have been actively engaged in these programs, particularly with the advent of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, that provided us with the necessary funds to do this."

"I do wish to state that the Department of the Interior endorses the bill but defers to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the best method of accomplishing that purpose."

That statement was intended to imply that HEW would see to it that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was included, sowehow, in the benefits of the Act as we were participating in the benefits of Titles I, II, and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

On June 29, 1967, Harry R. Anderson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, wrote to Chairman Carl Perkins of the General Subcommittee on Education (p. 398), supporting the bilingual education bills, deferring to HEW as to the method, but stating, "If either bill is favorably considered, we urge that it be amended to permit the bilingual assistance program to be extended to children and teachers in elementary and secondary schools operated by this Department for American Indians."

Also, the BIA education staff was in frequent and prolonged consultation with the Subcommittee staff and examination will show that considerable supplementary material in the volume cited above was furnished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

There can be no question but that the Subcommittee was well aware of the BIA's interest in the Bilingual Education Act and its desire to be included in its benefits.

T. W. TAYLOR,
Acting Commissioner.

COMMENTARY ON THE TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

(BY ROBERT L. BENNETT, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS)

MAY 21, 1969.

At the time of my appearance before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education on February 27, 1969, the following exchange took place between Chairman Edward M. Kennedy and myself:

"Senator KENNEDY. I noted in the early part of your statement, actually on page 2, you referred to statements that were made to the committee.

"You say you 'regretted, however, that the tenor of some statements made before this subcommittee at various times have been more in the nature of destructive and vitriolic attacks upon Federal schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than objective critiques of deficiencies in Indian education.'

"Could you elaborate on that? What testimony have we taken do you think that has been unfair in characterizing on what many of us feel is one of the most unfortunate Federal involvements, both in the testimony received and also in the testimony which has been received out in the field as well?

"This committee over the period of the last year has visited a number of these schools and reservations. Would you be somewhat more precise?

"Mr. BENNETT. Yes. The Washington Post reported——

Senator KENNEDY. I value the Washington Post reports on it but I am sure your people reviewed the testimony, itself, the direct testimony.

"I would be more interested in that valuation rather than the characterization made by a newspaper.

Mr. BENNETT. This is where I received my information. One of the witnesses stated that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was rotten, insensitive, and decadent. I do not believe this contributes anything to the education of Indian children.

"Senator KENNEDY. That is one. What are some of the other types of comments?

"Mr. BENNETT. Many of the comments have been in this same vein. You see, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is committed to a public school education for Indians.

"Senator KENNEDY. I am sure over the period of time that we have been having these hearings that there have been those that feel very deeply. Certainly you are not going to question sincere beliefs.

"If someone feels that that is a reasonable characterization of the Bureau and they want to express it before this committee, they are certainly entitled to those views. I think your references are somewhat deeper than that in terms of any misrepresentations that have been made in terms of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the characterization of the schools or the conditions under which these young people attend these schools or the administrative procedures of the Bureau in the decision-making process of the school systems themselves.

"They have made a lot of comments and characterizations about this.

"Coming from you, those statements, I think, reflect certainly on the kind of witnesses that this committee has called.

"I wish you could be somewhat more specific in your general characterizations about witnesses' testimony.

"Mr. BENNETT. My remarks were only at the testimony and not at any of the witnesses, because they, like anybody else, have an opportunity to appear here and say anything they wish.

"However, much of the testimony is not in accordance with the facts as they exist. Since last April, I have been waiting for an opportunity to present the facts before this committee and I am appreciative of this opportunity. * * *

"Senator KENNEDY. We want you to continue, Mr. Bennett. I think what we are really interested in is the specifics of the program, where any of these witnesses which have misrepresented situations, the school situations, local conditions, we hope that you will identify those kinds.

"I know you have had a good deal of time to review the testimony and your Department has, the testimony which has been taken during the course of these hearings, and to the extent that you can express a viewpoint on the misrepresentation of the facts of the situation, I hope you will do so because, obviously, it is in the interest of the committee."

I appreciate greatly the Chairman's generous invitation. Moreover, I am reassured by his expressed desire that wherever the condition or quality of the Bureau's education program has been misrepresented the record be set straight.

It is not my purpose to quibble with the minutiae of the testimony which is in the record. Rather, I should like to address myself to only a few broad areas of concern and to examples of testimony which, unchallenged, will leave a distorted picture.

THE QUALITY OF THE BUREAU'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The first of these has to do with the general quality of the educational program which the Bureau offers. On December 14, 1967, Dr. Alfonso Ortiz testified in part as follows:

"Although 55 percent of all Indian children in school were attending public school in 1965 and although the Bureau of Indian Affairs commits three of every five tax dollars to education, we are still confronted with comparative figures such as the following:

"(1) In tests administered in 1965, measuring verbal and nonverbal skills, Indian children scored consistently lower on every grade level than the average white student.

"(2) Even more alarming, the longer Indian children stay in school, the more ground they lose; that is to say, the difference in achievement between Indian and white children is consistently greater in the 12th than in the first grade. It is small wonder then that——

"(3) For the same year the dropout rate among Indian students stood at 50 percent as compared to a national average of 29 percent, and——

"(4) 16,000 Indian children between the ages of 8 and 16 were not in school. Half of these had no choice because of the lack of school facilities.

"These recent findings serve to add depth to the older and more widely known point of comparison; that the average level of educational attainment of the Indian is the fifth grade compared to the 10th grade for the Nation as a whole."

An excerpt from the prepared statement of Mr. Rubin Robinson, Member, South Dakota Indian Commission, and National President, Working Indians Civil Association of April 16, 1968 follows:

"Many knowledgeable persons believe that Bureau school systems are at least equivalent, and sometimes superior, to public systems in the local areas, in terms of physical plants, instructional materials, and qualifications of staffs. Despite these qualifications, however, it is also believed that Bureau schools do not provide adequate basic education or preparation for adult life for the Indian student. No explanation for this paradox is currently available. Observers of the situation of Indian youth have made the following observations concerning the educational and economic problems of Bureau school students compared with those of public school students:

"1. Bureau secondary schools have a much higher dropout rate than have public schools.

"2. Bureau school students do not perform as well as public school students on standardized educational achievement tests.

"3. Bureau school graduates have greater difficulty in meeting the standards for acceptance by colleges and universities.

"4. Bureau school graduates have greater difficulty in meeting the qualifications for entry into technical and semiprofessional schools (e.g., nursing and technical-vocational courses and schools).

"5. Bureau school students and graduates have unusual difficulty in finding and holding reasonable and suitable employment.

"6. Although financial support for higher education is available, few Bureau high school graduates seek postgraduate education or training. This is especially surprising for outstanding Indian high school athletes who fail to continue their educational and athletic careers."

As a final example, on February 18, 1969, Mr. Ralph Nader offered the following statements:

"I suspect if someone wanted to design a blueprint on how to keep children from becoming educated the ideal prototype in this country today would be the present state of the Indian education system.

"* * * we are merely perpetuating a relationship where the Indian is necessarily dependent upon an archaic and unresponsive bureaucracy, the BIA.

"* * * In fact, ESL is continually resurrected and dusted off whenever the Bureau attempts to demonstrate its modernity and creativity * * *

"When you get a situation where you get suicide epidemics, something which hasn't existed in our most abysmal slums in this country, I think it is time you take a serious look at the traumatic, disruptive, deteriorating impact of the existing system.

"With respect to the BIA school system, much of the blame must be assigned to an entrenched bureaucratic malaise. A feeling that it is safe not to take risks, not to engage in innovation. The BIA exhibits all the crippling features of an aged and rotting bureaucracy; incompetence, rigidity, and an incredible dearth of creativity."

These latter statements are, of course, almost pure invective, supported by few, if any, facts. The statements by Dr. Ortiz and Mr. Robinson suggest honest misunderstanding, however, and deserve comment.

There is no question that Indian-Americans are among the most disadvantaged of the Nation's citizens with respect to income, employment, housing, health, and education. This has been documented many times. Indian adults have fewer years of schooling than most American adults and Indian school children achieve well below the national average on standardized achievement tests. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has helped to document these facts.

What is not well understood is how Indian children, particularly those in Bureau schools, compare educationally with other disadvantaged children and the rate at which they are progressing to overcome their disadvantages. The testimony before your subcommittee has not shed much light on these matters and I think the record will be incomplete without it.

The study of Equality of Educational Opportunity conducted by the U.S. Office of Education in 1965 and reported by Dr. James S. Coleman, et al (the famous Coleman report) in 1966, sheds a great deal of light on the education of the disadvantaged. It showed that while Indian pupils do indeed achieve well below the national norms, this is true of all other disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the country. Moreover, by comparison with the other groups, Indian children do relatively well. The Office of Education in its continuing analysis of the Coleman data has this to say in its *Dynamics of Achievement: A Study of Differential Growth of Achievement Over Time—Technical Note Number 53:*

"The American-Indian and Negroes show the characteristic decreasing learning rates although at much different absolute rates, i.e., the Negro curve has a much more rapid decline * * *. Among the minority groups (except Oriental-Americans), in terms of rank comparisons, the American-Indians show the least drop measured from the national means—followed very closely by the Mexican-Americans. The Negro test scores are higher than the Puerto Ricans or Mexicans in two out of three tests at the sixth grade level, but by the 12th grade, the Negroes are the lowest of the minority groups."

Of special interest is a quotation from *Technical Note Number 65–4.3 Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools* from the same Office of Education series:

"Indian children attend public, Federal, private, and mission schools. * * * Sixth grade students of 20 BIA schools participated in the survey.

"Two of the top 10 achieving schools are BIA schools. Eight of the 20 BIA schools are in the upper decile. Only four have negative adjusted achievement differential values. Two of the top three school districts are BIA districts.

"These results imply that Indian children enrolled in the BIA schools that were included in the survey generally did better scholastically than Indian children of corresponding backgrounds in non-BIA schools."

Charts taken from *Technical Note Number 53*, showing the achievement of Indian children by comparison with that of other ethnic minorities, will be found at the end of this paper.

The notion displayed by some witnesses that the low achievement of Indian children by comparison with white children or the national average is, ipso facto, proof of the low quality of the schools deserves comment. This has been provided by James G. Anderson and William H. Johnson of New Mexico State University in their study, *Sociocultural Determinants of Achievement Among Mexican-American Students:*

"More recently support for the pervasive influence of these background factors (sociocultural) on subsequent school achievement has been provided by one of the major conclusions of the Coleman study; namely, that the largest portion of the variation in achievement among students who attend different schools is not due to differences in the school programs, staff, and facilities, but rather is a consequence of variations in the background of the children when they first enter school."

Two other widely separated studies bear on the question of the quality of education provided by Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. One of these is a study of graduates and dropouts of Lathrop High School at Fairbanks, Alaska during the years 1964–66. The study was conducted by the North Star Borough School District under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education and with technical assistant from the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory at Portland, Oregon. The following findings are quoted directly from the study:

"Native students who attended the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools during the majority of their elementary school years received better grades in high school than did those from any other classification of school system.

"A native student entering Lathrop High School had a better survival rate if he received the majority of his elementary education in a Bureau of Indian Affairs school or an independent public school than if he came from any other type of school. In the years studied, (1964–66), a student transferring from a state operated school had the least chance of graduating.

"Native students who graduated and received the majority of their elementary education in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools tended to have a better understanding of the English language and received higher grades than from any other type of school.

"If a native attended a Bureau of Indian Affairs school, his chances for higher grades in Lathrop High School were better than if he attended public school, private school, or state school."

The other study, now in its 3d year, is being conducted by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory at Albuquerque, New Mexico under a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and is studying the achievement of some 3,500 Indian high school students in Bureau and public schools in the States of Alaska, Arizona, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Utah. After analyzing the results of the first 2 years of the study, the laboratory has this to say:

"* * * * when individual differences in scholastic aptitude and academic ability were controlled, differences in achievement between students in the four types of schools were negligible in 1967–68 (the 2d year of the study).

"These findings are in contrast with the findings for 1966–67 (the first year) in which differences in achievement were found to be significant in 10 of the 16 categories and revealed hierarchical pattern for school types. This general pattern, from high to low, was federal on-reservation, federal off-reservation, public on-reservation, public off-reservation."

Speaking of achievement over the 2-year span, the report says:

"* * * for those categories where significant differences exist, the general order of rank, from high to low, is federal on-reservation, federal off-reservation, public off-reservation, public on-reservation."

These findings come from studies over which the Bureau of Indian Affairs had no control. They do not bespeak an inept, moribund educational program—they bespeak an educational program which, despite more than its share of problems, an enormous task, and too little in the way of resources to do it, has done a better job than might have been expected.

In a quantitative sense, some of Dr. Ortiz' and Mr. Robinson's figures are simply out of date and do not reflect the progress which Indian people have made in recent years. Bureau of the Census figures for 1960 showed the average number of years of schooling for all Indian adults to be 8.4 years, not 5 years. The latter figure came out of the 1950 census and pertained to many but not all of the reservation populations for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs had responsibility. The 1960 figure of 8.4 years for Indians compared with a national figure of 10.6 years for the general population. For the 14–24 age group, the Indian figure was 9.0 years compared with 10.8 for the general population. This compared with corresponding figures of 7.9 and 10.5 years in 1950 and represented a net gain of .8 year for Indians during the 10-year period. I am sure that the 1970 census next year will show still further gains.

Of additional interest, the Bureau of the Census reported that in 1960 there were 57,000 Indian people in the country who had graduated from high school compared with 24,000 in 1950, a gain of about 140 percent in 10 years. And, in 1960 there were 17,000 Indian people who had completed one or more years of college compared with only 6,500 in 1950, a gain of 160 percent. Last spring (1968) BIA high school alone graduated 2,041 students compared with 873 10 years earlier. Counting public and private schools, it is safe to say that at least 5,000 Indian students are now graduating from high school each year.

Of great importance is the fact that more Indian children, and a higher proportion of them, are in school than ever before. In 1961, 113 thousand or 90 percent of Indian children of school age were in school. Last year, 143 thousand or 94 percent were in school. During the 7-year period not only was room found for an additional 27 thousand children from the rapidly burgeoning Indian school age population, but the out-of-school group was reduced from nearly 10 thousand to less than 7 thousand. The number about whom the Bureau has no information held fairly steady at about 3 thousand. It should not be assumed, as is often done, that these latter children are out of school. Most of them are members of families who are on tribal rolls but who have left the reservation. It may be assumed that most of them are in school.

It is true that largely because of the sociocultural factors which impede their progress in the elementary and secondary grades, many Indian students encounter scholastic difficulty in college. Last year the Bureau assisted 2,660 college students with grant-in-aid and this year it is estimated that 3,100 students will receive aid totaling more than $3 million. An additional $1.1 million of tribal aid is available, as well as aid from other sources. As recently as 1958, the Bureau was able to assist only 466 students in the amount of $145 thousand. Last year 180 Indian grantees of Bureau funds, alone, received college degrees, 10 of them at the graduate level. It is safe to assume that, in all at least 300 Indian students will receive college degrees this spring. An additional 3,600 Indian high school graduates are pursuing vocational-technical courses beyond high school this year. Many of these are in Haskell Institute, the Institute of American Indian Arts, or the Bureau's adult vocational training program.

In a recent follow-up study of 287 high school graduates conducted by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota, 202 or slightly more than 70 percent pursued their education beyond high school. Of these, 106 or 52 percent completed the course of training they entered. Eighty-three or 41 percent of the 202 entered college and of these 24 graduated. This represented 8.3 percent of the total number of high school graduates in the study, 11.8 percent of those that pursued further training, and 29 percent of those who entered college. These percentages are nearly as high as I would like them to be. But I believe that it is important that Indian young people have their chance at college. Their aspirations are growing by leaps and bounds and the proportion of them who succeed will grow too.

Finally, two studies of high school dropout conducted over a 12-State area by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory and the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory within the last year give some cause for optimism. A composite of the two studies, which included 2.057 students who were eighth graders in 1962, showed that slightly more than 42 percent dropped out before finishing high school. In 1959, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had estimated that 60 percent of Indian students were dropping out before finishing high school. In that same year the national dropout rate was 37 percent whereas last year it had declined to about 27 percent. The above figures show not only an 18 percent decline in the dropout rate for Indian students in the 9-year period, but a net gain of about 8 percent on the national figure in the same length of time. Again, while it is quite clear that the Indian dropout figure is far too high, there is also evidence of progress.

THE BOARDING SCHOOL PROBLEM

The second large area of concern in Indian education which requires better illumination is the boarding school. No one champions the Indian boarding school. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has stated repeatedly and unequivocally that it considers it, at present, a necessary but not a preferred way of educating children. Separating children from their families goes against the grain with most Americans and only the privileged and well-to-do have used boarding schools as a matter of choice to any great extent. Particularly repugnant is the idea of young children having to leave home to go to school. The difference between a number of witnesses and the Bureau in the matter is that the former seem to be convinced that the Bureau has viable alternatives to boarding schools at its disposal, especially for younger children, and that it persists in operating them only because of a callous unconcern for the children's welfare, or as a way of saving money, or a combination of the two.

Dr. Daniel J. O'Connell, representing the Association on American Indian Affairs, on December 14, 1967 testified, in part, as follows:

"Here we have a situation where *as a matter of policy* (italics mine), 9,000 children, ages five through nine, are taken away from their homes and placed in boarding school * * *.

"The problem of doing away with early placement in boarding schools is really more of an economic problem than anything else. Of these children, nine and under in boarding school, 80 percent are Navajo. The justification, it would seem, is that the distances involved are so great that it would be impractical to provide local day schools for these children.

"However, in Alaska, where the geographical problems are even greater, only 37 children out of the entire native population, representing one of every 1,500 Alaskan natives, is nine or under in a boarding school. Among the Navajos on the other hand, one out of every 16.5 individuals is a child of nine or under living at a boarding school."

To try to draw a parallel between the Alaskan and the Navajo situations betrays a lack of familiarity with the demography and logistics of the two areas. Historically the Navajo have thinly dispersed themselves over a huge area while relying on a grazing economy. Only a beginning has been made on tying the Navajo hogans togther with any kind of an all-weather road system. By contrast, the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska have arranged themselves in compact villages enclaves—some 200 of them. The population configuration in Alaska lends itself to the establishment of village day schools; the dispersal of people on the Navajo Reservation at present makes the development of a viable system of day schools an impossibility.

For the sake of accuracy, let me say that 91.5 percent, not 80 percent, of children from 5 to 9 years of age in Bureau boarding schools are Navajos. To all intents and purposes the problem of young children in boarding schools *is a Navajo problem* and it exists for the reasons I have mentioned. The fact that the Bureau *has* established elementary day schools in Alaska rather than boarding schools refutes the claim that the Bureau is primarily concerned about economy or ease of operation. Village day schools in Alaska are difficult and expensive to staff, difficult and expensive to provision, and difficult and expensive to maintain. They are very expensive to build. Moreover, the Bureau does not contend that it can offer the quality of educational program in a small village day school that it could in a larger boarding school. Yet it operates the day schools for reasons of which Dr. O'Connell and other critics of boarding schools will approve. It would do the same on the Navajo Reservation if it could.

A number of witnesses, in addition to Dr. O'Connell, spoke against boarding schools. Among these were Dr. Harry L. Saslow, psychologist from New Mexico Highlands University, Dr. Robert L. Leon, psychiatrist from the University of Texas, and the eminent Dr. Karl Menninger. All of them spoke of the high incidence of mental and emotional problems among boarding school students, of the lack of capability on the part of the boarding schools to deal with such problems, and of the general undesirability of institutional life. I find myself in strong agreement with much of what they said. Many boarding school students are there precisely because they have emotional problems which either the home or community has caused or with which they are not able to deal. The Bureau has not had and does not now have the capability of dealing adequately with such problems. One of the most urgent requests the Bureau has currently before the Congress is for adequate funds to permit it to hire more psychologists, more social workers, more professional counselors, more recreation leaders, more special education teachers, and more Indian dormitory aides to help meet these needs.

Nevertheless, even with all this admission of the deficiencies of the boarding schools, I think the case against them at times became distorted and overdrawn. Dr. Saslow said, in part, on December 15, 1967:

"There is considerable depersonalization, impersonalization, a blunting of uniqueness of the individual to fit a pattern, to fit a mold. Everyone is treated so equally in a sanse, that any distinctions between people are blurred.

"I have reason to believe that this is a destructive process to the establishment of the child's own identity, who I am, what I am, my uniquenesss as a person."

There is a tendency for any institution to depersonalize and some persons are much more vulnerable to this than are others, but I think that few persons who are really familiar with Bureau boarding schools, who have attended them as I have, can subscribe wholly to Dr. Saslow's characterization. Over the years there have been thousands of Indian youth who, while perhaps not favoring boarding schools as the best possible educational arrangement, nevertheless accepted the educational opportunity which the boarding schools provided and found self-fulfillment in them.

Some of the criticisms of the boarding schools have, in my opinion, been downright irresponsible. An example of this is a statement written by John Collier, Jr., of San Francisco State University and commented on in the hearings by Senator Mondale. To quote the latter:

"John Collier, Jr., based on the recent fieldwork of one of his graduate students, has described a boarding school on the Navajo Reservation that in many ways matches the worst practices of boarding schools 70 years ago. For example, 'children are beaten, pervasive attacks are made against their cultural beliefs, classes start with the Lord's Prayer, and teachers advocate the free labor of Navajo girls in their homes, doing laundry, scrubbing floors, et cetera,' all done on students' after-school time, 'to teach them the American way of housekeeping.'"

The Bureau's Office of Education had noted Mr. Collier's statement on the occasion of its first issuance and had written to him saying that what he described was so completely contrary to Bureau policy and regulations that it felt it must ask him to identify the school so that corrective action could be taken if the allegations were found to be true. After a considerable delay Mr. Collier replied, declining to identify the school, and saying that he thought no good purpose would be served by doing so since similar attitudes existed in most Bureau boarding schools, in his opinion.

I contend that this kind of criticism is irresponsible. No school system as large as that operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs can be sure that conditions such as those alleged do not exist in some school at some time and the Bureau was eager to pursue the matter, armed with more specific information. To have its good faith questioned was bad enough but to be confronted by a shadowy situation in which an anonymous culprit was charged by an anonymous accuser while putatively, children continued to be mistreated was frustrating to the Bureau in the extreme. Whatever the facts in the case referred to, I reject the idea that the alleged attitudes and conduct are representative of Bureau boarding schools.

In my opinion, one of the most unfortunate results of the hearings thus far has been the association which has developed in the minds of many persons between boarding schools and suicide. This has come about, I think, because of the juxtaposition of the two subjects in the testimony. Several witnesses, such as Dr. Menninger, Dr. Leon, and Dr. Saslow, spoke of boarding schools as not being conducive to the mental health of students but without connecting this with suicide. Dr. O'Connell did so when he said:

"And the situation as far as suicide is concerned is especially acute among the boarding school children, particularly in high school. The number of attempted suicides in this age group is indeed alarming."

Senator Kennedy of New York: "Among the children themselves."

Dr. O'Connell: "Among children in high school, yes; in boarding school. In the Busby School on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, for example, with fewer than 200 students. There were 12 attempted suicides during the past 18 months."

Allegations of attempted suicide are notoriously hard to support and we have not been able to substantiate Dr. O'Connell's statement. Dr. Jane Watson of the Anthropology Department of Idaho State University has said in a paper, included in the record of these hearings, *The Etiology of Suicide at Fort Hall*, that she has not been able to establish a correlation between boarding school attendance and suicide.

In all, there was a good deal said about suicide in the hearings and it was one of the aspects of the hearings most featured in coverage by the news media. The subject was pretty well localized at the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana, and the Quinault Reservation in Washington. The Busby School in Montana has been alluded to already, but the Bureau has not operated schools on the Fort Hall or Quinault Reservations for a good many years. Nevertheless, because of the concentration in the hearings on the deleterious effects of boarding schools and the incidence of suicide among youth on two or three reservations, I believe that many persons have been led to believe that there is a cause and effect relationship. I do not believe that the facts support such a conclusion.

The whole matter has been both frustrating and puzzling to the career administrators in our boarding schools, most of whom have served for years without experiencing the tragedy of a student suicide.

In my opinion, it might be possible to show that boarding schools have prevented suicides by providing some students with a constructive alternative to a bad home environment or the sterility of reservation life.

Finally, on the general subject of boarding schools, I should like to provide some perspective on what several witnesses have implied were obtuse, insensitive, and intransigent decisions on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs specifically and the Federal Government generally. On February 18, 1969, Mr. Ralph Nader said:

"But Congress, in its occasionally overzealous pursuit of economy, must share some of the blame for the BIA's inflexibility. For instance, Congress demands that the BIA fill every classroom seat before any new school construction can proceed. The Bureau meekly accepts this mandate and proceeds to implement the following migratory absurdity. If seats are empty at the Chilocco School in Oklahoma and the Bureau has some "extra" Alaska Natives from Point Barrow, these students are sent over 6,000 miles to Chilocco.* * *. Students are literally hauled all over the country to fulfill this absurd requirement. The Chemawa Boarding School in Oregon serves Alaska Natives and Navajos while close to 500 Indians from the Pacific Northwest are shipped to Oklahoma."

I will concede that from the vantage point of hindsight the arrangement may look somewhat absurd. But the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never enjoyed the luxury of being able to plan ahead for 15 or 20 years with all of the variables in the situation being predictable. I must say, too, that at least for a good many years now, the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have much preferred to provide school facilities for Indian youth closer to their homes and has, on occasion, found itself at odds with other components of the Federal government which are involved in the funding process and which have not always been so sensitive to the need for this. I will not agree that the Bureau has always accepted the situation meekly.

The year 1946 was a kind of watershed in the history of Indian education. In that year there were only about 6 thousand Navajo children in school and 18 thousand of school age who were not. World War II had just ended and as a result of that experience the Navajo people had decided to embrace education on an unprecedented scale. A crash effort to get Navajo children into school was mounted. However, these Navajo children did not have conventional educational needs. Most of them were adolescents and yet had never been to school. In a few years they would be adults, ready for marriage and employment. In response, the Bureau planned a 5 year education program designed to give these young people at least functional skills in use of the English language, in performing salable work, and in living in the dominant culture.

The only readily available space was in some of the Bureau's older off-reservation boarding schools. The reason for that space being available is significant. Long before the Supreme Court's decision with respect to school integration, there had been a great effort to get Indian children into public schools wherever possible. This was not so much a recognition of civil rights as it was an assumption that if Indian children could be got into public school with white children they would learn from them and the entire acculturative process would be speeded up. Few non-Indian people, at least, questioned this and the pressure upon the Bureau to get Indian children into public schools was enormous. As a result, most of the Indian children in California, in the Pacific Northwest, and in Oklahoma were in public school by 1946 and there was some free space at Sherman Institute in California, at Chilocco in Oklahoma, and at Chemawa in Oregon. The special program for overage Navajo students was started in those and a few other Bureau schools. The Navajo people, however reluctant they may have been to send their children so far from home, agreed to do so.

As the years passed, new high school space was made available closer to the Navajo Reservation. A half dozen public high schools came into being on the reservation, a system of "bordertown" programs in communities adjacent to the reservation was developed, the Bureau built a 1,000 pupil high school at Fort Wingate, and planned others. So the Navajo students started attending school closer to home. In the meantime, however, some disenchantment on the part of Indian people with public school education had set in in certain quarters, particularly in the Nortwest and, simultaneously, a wave of overage, underachieving Alaskan students were seeking school entrance. The latter could be successfully phased into the special program at Chemawa which had been developed for the Navajos with similar needs, but the more sophisticated students from Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana needed a more conventional program such as was available at the Oklahoma schools.

In 1962 the Bureau entered into an agreement with the State of Alaska that the State should take the initiative in long range planning for the high school education of its native youth. The Governor of Alaska appointed such a planning group and it was my privilege to serve on it while I was the Bureau's area director for Alaska. In 1963 the Commission issued its report and recommendations. The report did not recommend that the Bureau build additional high schools in Alaska but recommended instead that the State build a number of regional boarding high schools with the Bureau constructing dormitory space. The Bureau has since then conformed to this plan, building dormitories at Nome and Kodiak and agreeing to build others, subject to the availability of funds, at Bethel, Sitka, Fairbanks, and perhaps elsewhere. It has abandoned its plan to rebuild the Mt. Edgecumbe School and sought and obtained permission from the Congress to reprogram appropriated funds to build dormitories at the State regional high school sites.

In spite of this planning, by the fall of 1966 the demand for high school space by Alaskan native students had reached a critical stage. About 650 were enrolled at Mt. Edgecumbe, approximately 700 were at Chemawa in Oregon, the new State regional school at Nome with its BIA constructed dormitory was just getting under way, the new school at Kodiak was not completed, the Bureau was offering some ninth and 10th grade work at Barrow, Kotzebue, Unalakleet, and Hooper Bay, and still there was a backlog of more than 400 eighth grade graduates who had applied for high school and for whom there was no room. The only school at which the Bureau had available space was Chilocco. Realizing that the choice was not between desirable alternatives, the Bureau opted for offering the space in Oklahoma to the Alaskan students rather than to see them miss a high school education, and 204 of them accepted. This past year with high school space in Alaska still in the building and planning stage there have been approximately 300 Alaskan students at Chilocco in Oklahoma.

In the meantime, some California students are being phased back into Sherman Institute and Northwest students are being returned to Chemawa. However illogical the foregoing developments may seem in retrospect, they were in every case arrived at in an attempt to be responsive to the educational needs of Indian people.

THE NEED FOR OBJECTIVE EVALUATION

A third, and rather brief, commentary which I wish to make has to do with the need for an objective evaluation of the educational programs serving Indian people. This is admittedly an emotionally charged area and advocates of contending points of view abound. I hope there is still a place in this kind of climate for the trained, neutral evaluator who can bring an objective point of view to the task.

I am hopeful that one such effort, now under way, is the National Study of American Indian Education funded by the U.S. Office of Education and scheduled for completion next year. I have no idea what it will report when finished, but it is under the direction of Dr. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago, a much respected name in scholarly circles.

In this connection, I have been struck by the frequent references in the hearings of this subcommittee to the Rough Rock Demonstration School, all of them laudatory. The published reports of the hearings include an article from the September 16, 1967 issue of the Saturday Review, *Innovation at Rough Rock; Learning to be Navajo-Americans.* Also, a footnote to *Toward a Fundamental Program for the Training, Employment, and Economic Equality of the American Indian* by Herbert E. Striner reads as follows:

"The Rough Rock Demonstration School of Chinle, Arizona has demonstrated conclusively that this pattern can be changed. Under the able leadership of Dr. Robert Roessell, Navajo people have been brought directly into the designing and operation of the residential school. Funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, it provides an exemplary education."

Dr. Menninger, Dr. Leon, Dr. Martin, Dr. Marburger, Mr. Nader, and a number of members of the subcommittee expressed similar strong approval. During my testimony on March 27, 1969, Senator Mondale expressed the following opinion after I had pointed out that the Rough Rock program is now undergoing evaluation:

"Here we have one instance, Rough Rock, which, regardless of what your outside surveys might prove, the people in the community think it is a delightful and exciting experiment. I don't think some outside survey, whether it says it is good or bad, means a darn thing."

The Rough Rock School, particularly with its emphasis on local control, has great appeal to the liberal spirit. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has a large investment in it, both of money and of hopes. And yet I would counsel against ignoring an objective evaluation of its program. The Bureau's own OPERATION TRIBE will, inevitably, need to depend for guidance upon objective findings concerning Rough Rock.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has felt that the Rough Rock experience should be evaluated. The people they have selected to do the job (not in any way connected with the National Study by Havighurst) are experienced, competent, and respected in their field. They approached the task with a sympathetic understanding of the Rough Rock objectives. I believe we will wish to listen to what they have to say.

And now, finally, I take no pleasure in citing the following testimony. I do so only because the Chairman has urged me to illustrate what I meant when

I said in my prepared statement that I "regretted, however, that the tenor of some statements made before this subcommittee at various times have been more in the nature of destructive and vitriolic attacks upon Federal schools and the Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than objective critiques of deficiencies in Indian education."

On February 18, 1969, Mr. Lehman Brightman, President of United Native Americans, made the following statements:

"My organization has been very busy trying to discredit this cancerous failure of an organization that is running around strangling our people. I can't say enough bad things about it.

"We realize not all Indian communities and tribes are ready for this take-over and operation of Bureau schools, not because they can't run the schools any better than the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is not saying too much, but because the Bureau starts spreading rumors about termination.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs has done so many things wrong it is impossible for anybody else to make more mistakes than they have.

"If we were given enough money to develop, as I said before, a reservoir of trained people in the academic field, we would no longer need this bureaucratic, colonialistic, cancerous failure of a Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"As I said, they don't teach Indian history and culture. They don't hire Indian teachers. They don't even hire Indian resource people. They don't hire Indian teacher aides." (In May of 1968, 363 or 16 percent of the Bureau's teachers were of Indian descent; 115 or 26.6 percent of its educational administrators and supervisors were Indians; and 1,498 or 92.1 percent of its instructional aides were Indians.)

"Indian people have been betrayed too many times in the past by white experts and "Uncle Tomahawks" such as the National Education Advisory Committee."

On the same day Mr. Ralph Nader, making a distinction between kinds of Indians said:

"* * *. One, the professional Indian who has become a kind of parasite to the Indian Bureau system, kind of like a welfare Indian who is allegedly representative of the tribes, representative of the people, but actually he has been co-opted into the Bureau system and has just the same kind of insensitivity at times as the non-Indian employees."

This ruling out of elected tribal officials, or any other person of Indian ancestry with whom one does not happen to agree as "not being Indian," is a favorite theme with the critics.

I, of course, agree that witnesses have a right to say what they wish. But I cannot feel that rhetoric such as that cited above makes any meaningful contribution to a discussion of the problems of Indian education.

Again, may I say that I appreciate the opportunity to make these comments.

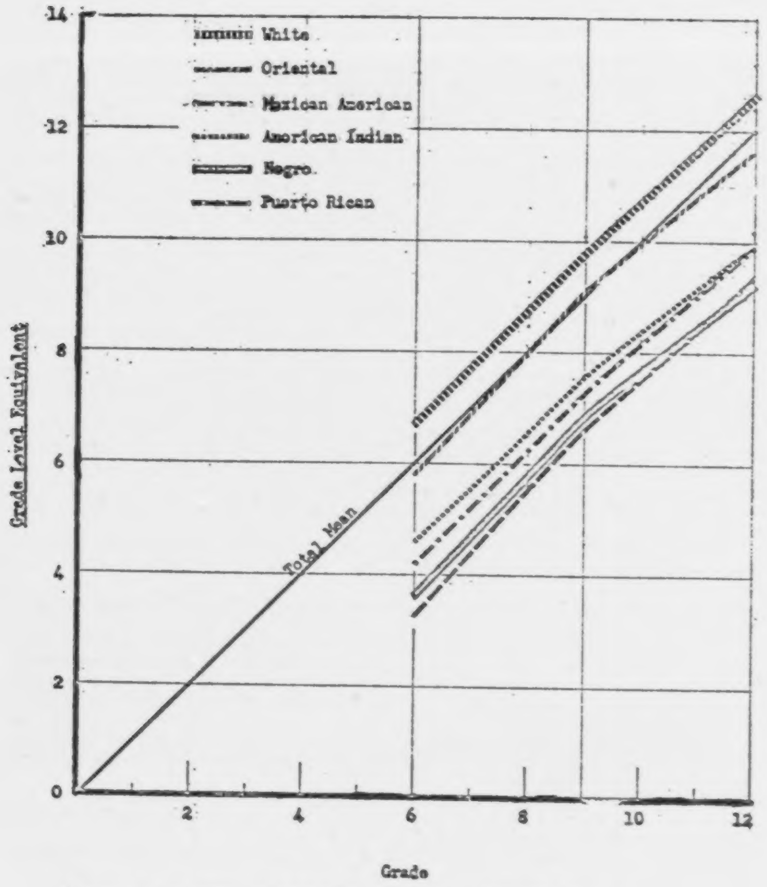

FIGURE 7. Reading—Grade Level Equivalents, By Grade, All Races.

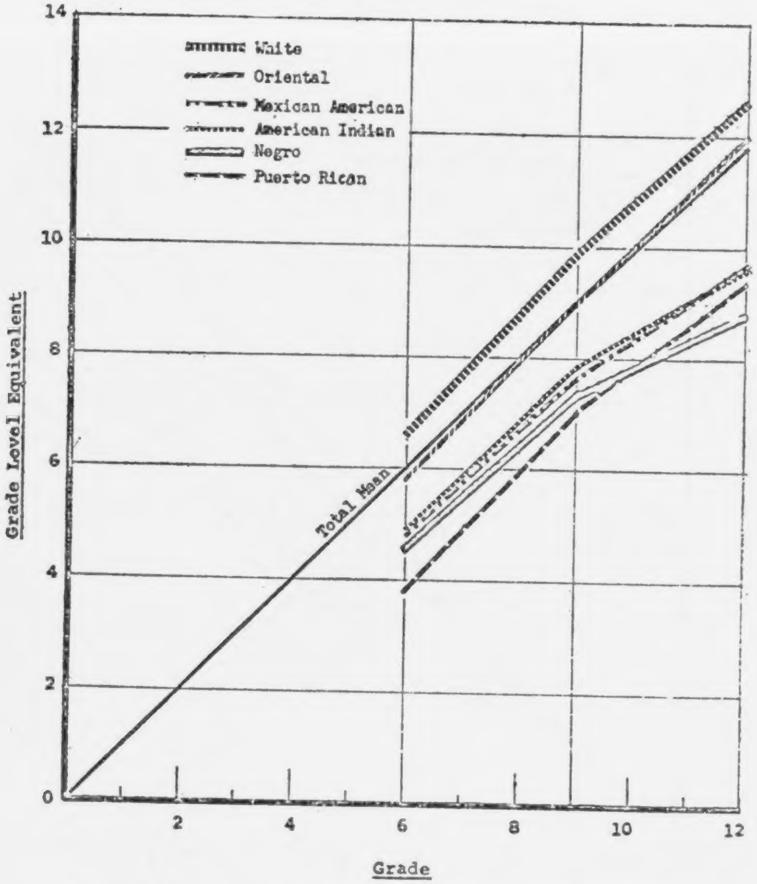

FIGURE 8. Verbal—Grade Level Equivalents, By Grade, All Races.

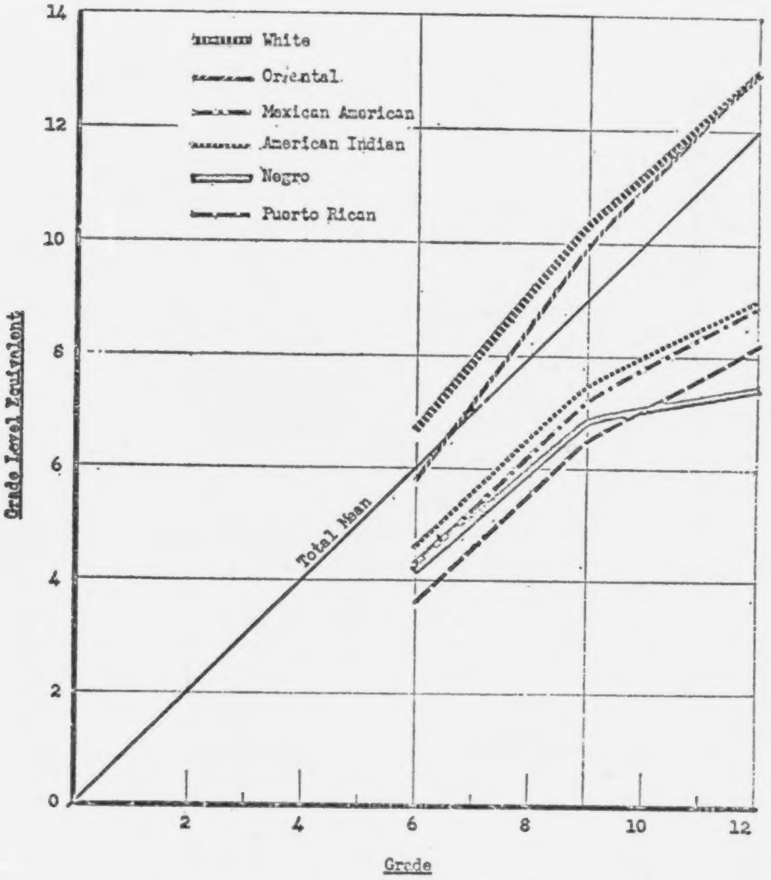

FIGURE 9. Mathematics—Grade Level Equivalents, By Grade, All Races.

REPORT OF UNDERGRADUATES AND GRADUATES, BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION, OF INDIAN STUDENTS UNDER GRANT SPONSORSHIP FROM FISCAL YEARS 1962 TO 1969

Tribal group	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		Total	
	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate
Aberdeen area:																		
Sioux	89		95		104		138		159		183	1	193		280		1,241	1
Chippewa	8		9		10		13		14		17		18		25		114	
Other	35		35		38		51		60		69		74		107		469	
Total																	1,824	1
Grand total																	1,825	
Anadarko area:																		
Comanche	22		45		59		64		73		86	1	88		119		556	1
Caddo	8		15		21		23		27		32		33		45		204	
Kiowa	20		41		52		58		63		76	1	79		115		504	1
Ponca	6		14		17		18		20		28	1	31		39		173	1
Pawnee	6		12		16		19		24		27		28		35		167	
Otoe	3		3		9		11		15		15		16		18		90	
Cheyenne-Arapaho	4		7		10		11		12		13		14		18		89	
Other	10		16		26		38		42		44	2	42		56		274	2
Total																	2,057	5
Grand total																	2,062	
Albuquerque, Gallup, Navajo areas:																		
Isleta	9		10		15		18		19		18		22	1	35		146	1
Acoma	7		9		14		17		18		17	1	23		35		140	1
Zuni	5		6		11		14		15		16		19		26		112	
Laguna	5		6		11		14		15		14		18		25		108	
Jemez	1		1		5		7		8		8		13		19		62	
Santo Domingo	1		1		2		3		5		6		8		13		39	
Cochiti	1				1		2		4		5		7		6		26	
Santa Clara	1						1		3		4		7		6		22	
San Juan	1				1		1		2		5		8		13		31	
Con Ute	1		1				1		2		3		4		5		17	
Mescalero	1		2		3		5		6		7		12		16		52	
Navajo	45		50		60		65		76		221		213	7	259	2	989	9
Other	83		37		46		54		40		28		35		65	1	388	1
Total																	2,132	12
Grand total																	2,144	

REPORT OF UNDERGRADUATES AND GRADUATES, BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION, OF INDIAN STUDENTS UNDER GRANT SPONSORSHIP FROM FISCAL YEARS 1962 TO 1969—Continued

Tribal group	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		Total	
	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate	Undergraduate	Graduate
Blackfeet	6		9		10		17		14		18		23		25	1	122	1
Crow	5		7		8		13		11		15		18		23		100	
Flathead	5		9		9	1	15		14		14	1	21	1	26		113	3
Sioux	5		7		8		14		12		13		18		21		98	
Chippewa	4		6		6		11		10		12		15		17		81	
Assiniboine	5		8		8		14		11	1	16		18		21		101	1
Cheyenne	4		5		5		9		8		10		15	1	17		73	1
Araphahoe	2		3		3		6		4		8		8	1	8		42	1
Gros Ventre	1		2		2		5		3		4		6		7		30	
Cree	2		4		4		6		4		6		8		8		42	
Total																	802	7
Grand total																	809	
uneau area:																		
Eskimo	58		60		54		59		76		59		77		113		556	
Alaska Indian	38		40		43		44		45		44		46		92	1	392	1
Aleut	2		5		5		4		7		4		8		11		46	
Other	3		3						10				7				24	
Total																	1,018	1
Grand total																	1,019	
Minneapolis area:																		
Chippewa	33		41		75		80		82		93	1	89	1	160	2	653	4
Oneida	4		5		9		12		7		6		12		25		80	
Potawatomi	1		2		3		5		3		2		3		13		32	
Ottawa	5		6		11		10		10		17		15		13		87	
Other	4		4		8		14		13		4		7		20	3	74	3
Total																	926	7
Grand total																	933	

Muskogee area:																		
Cherokee	40		68	1	108		151	1	203		235	1	270		335	2	1,410	5
Chotaw	28		47		72		105		137		161	1	182		231		963	1
Creek	23		40		63		92		122		143		169		202		854	
Chickasaw	8		11		18		27		31		36		43		55		229	
Osage	3		6		12		19		23		29		36		39		167	
Seminole (Oklahoma)	2		6		9		15		18		25		30		36		141	
Mississippi-Choctaw	6		9		15		23		29		32		38		49		201	
Other					3		5		67		10		12		13		110	
Total																	4,075	6
Grand total																	4,081	
Phoenix area:																		
Hopi	20	1	23	1	42	1	64	1	69	1	90	3	85	5	100	7	493	20
Apache	11		13		22		33		37		35		49		56		246	
Pima	7		8		14		21		23		45		42		36		196	
Paiute	5		6		11		16		19		25	1	23	1	28		133	2
Papago	6		7		13		20		23		28		22		35		154	
Other	19		21		35		50		54		60		52		158		449	1
Total																	1,681	23
Grand total																	1,703	
Portand area:																		
Colviee	9		12		18		20		19		22		26	1	42		168	1
Nez Perce	8		8		13		13		13		15		19		30		119	
Quinault	5		5		8		10		9		10		12		19		78	
Shoshone-Bannock	4		4		7		7		8		9		11		18		68	
Lummi	2		2		4		5		5		5		6		9		38	
Clallam	1		2		4		6		5		5		6		9		38	
Other	8		15		24		21		22		28		36		65		219	
Totals																	728	1
Grand total																	729	
Cherokee Agency: Cherokee, Eastern Band	4		5		6		6		3		4		6		12		46	
Seminole Agency: Seminole	1		2		1		4		2		6		6		9		31	

ATTACHMENT B.—SUMMARY RECORD OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED ON OR NEAR RESERVATIONS AND JOBS GENERATED AS RESULT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968

	Grand total Indian workers (150 plants)			Employment size classes by number of Indian workers														
				100 or more Indian workers (23 plants)			50 to 99 Indian workers (22 plants)			25 to 49 Indian workers (29 plants)			10 to 24 Indian workers (32 plants)			Under 10 Indian workers (44 plants)		
	Total	Indian	Percent Indian	Total	Indian	Percent Indian	Total	Indian	Percent Indian	Total	Indian	Percent Indian	Total	Indian	Percent Indian	Total	Indian	Percent Indian
Total number of jobs generated [1]	15,550	8,147	52.4	6,498	5,027	77.4	2,883	1,519	52.7	2,150	934	43.5	2,280	501	22.0	1,739	166	9.5
Less projected additional employment	5,251	3,517	67.0	2,861	2,435	85.1	1,207	542	44.9	580	324	55.9	553	205	37.1	50	11	22.0
Current employment, Dec. 31, 1968	10,299	4,630	45.0	3,637	2,592	71.3	1,676	977	58.3	1,570	610	38.9	1,727	296	17.1	1,689	155	9.2

[1] Includes estimates of employment anticipated by recently announced plants and those operating less than 1 year.

Source: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Industrial and Tourism Development.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED ON OR NEAR RESERVATIONS AS RESULT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968

Company name	Plant location	Employees from nearest reservation or area	Product	Date established
ALASKA				
Alaska Forest Products, Inc	Haines	Haines	Lumber, cants, chips	December 1965.
Alaska Prince Corp	Metlakatla	Metlakatla	Cants, for export to Japan	September 1966.
Alaska Wood Products, Inc	Wrangell	Wrangell	Lumber, cants, chips	May 1967.
Aleutian Development Corp	Unalaska	Unalaska	Crab products	December 1963.
Marine View Fisheries, Inc	Old Harbor	Old Harbor	Crab and shrimp processing	June 1966.
Ouzinkie Seafoods, Inc	Ouzinkie	Ouzinkie	Crab processing; hand-packed salmon.	May 1966.
Pan-Alaska Fisheries, Inc	Unalaska	Unalaska	Fish products	June 1966.
Petersburg Fisheries, Inc	Petersburg	Petersburg	Salmon-seafoods cannery	June 1965.
Products Development Co	Spenard	Spenard	Eskimo-type fur, leather novelties.	August 1965.
Rotman's Seafoods	Kotzebue	Kotzebue	Seafoods	May 1965.
Togiak Fisheries	Togiak	Togiak	Salmon cannery	July 1965.
Unalakleet Fisheries, Inc	Unalakleet	Unalakleet	Seafoods	June 1965.
ARIZONA				
Adams Foods, Inc	Gila River Reservation.	Gila River	Eggs and poultry	September 1967.
Aero Dyne Corp	do	do	Chemical and electrical ordnance.	August 1964.
Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.	Coolidge	do	Heavy equipment testing facility.	September 1966.
Bruce Church Farms, Inc	Colorado River Reservation.	Colorado River	Crop production (fruits and vegetables).	February 1964.
Curtis Craft	do	do	Farm machinery repair	January 1967.
Defiance of Arizona, Inc	Salt River Reservation.	Salt River	Sewage treatment plants	May 1965.
Del Rio Feeding Co	Gila River Reservation.	Gila River	Cattlefeed lot	January 1967.
John Dudik	Colorado River Reservation.	Colorado River	Icehouse	February 1965.
E. K. Landscaping Co	Sells	Papago	Landscaping; maintenance	July 1968.
Fashions of Arizona	Cottonwood	Campe Verde	Garments	November 1968.
Fed-Mart, Inc	Window Rock	Navajo	Shopping center	Do.
Fort Apache Timber Co	Fort Apache Reservation.	Fort Apache	Lumber	March 1963.
Fort McDowell Richfield	Fort McDowell Reservation.	Fort McDowell	Gasoline station	July 1968.
General Dynamics Corp	Fort Defiance	Navajo	Missile components	June 1967.
Harlan Metals Co	Chuichu	Papago	Copper ore processing	July 1968.
Hicks-Ponder Co	Yuma	Fort Yuma	Western wear	April 1961.
Indians of Arizona, Inc	Tucson	San Xavier	Farm machinery	November 1968.
Monument Valley Inn	Navajo Reservation.	Navajo	Motel and restaurant	August 1965.
Nu-Pak Corp	Coolidge	Gila River	Metal shipping containers	December 1968.
Pima Manufacturing Co	do	do	Indian novelties; dolls	April 1968.
Pima Refinery	Gila River	do	Crude oil for asphalt mix	September 1967.
Pima Valve Co	do	do	Gate valve	Do.
Prest Wheel, Inc	Parker	Colorado River	Outdoor lawn furniture (aluminum tube).	March 1968.
Safford manufacturing Co	Safford	San Carlos	Women's apparel warehousing	March 1963.
San Tan Ranches, Inc	Gila River Reservation.	Gila River	Agricultural and cattle feeding	October 1963.
Simmons International Harvester.	Colorado River Reservation.	Colorado River	Farm machinery sales and service.	June 1968.
Southwest Forest Industries, Inc.	Prescott	Yavapai	Wood treating	June 1960.
Spreckels Sugar Co	Chandler	Gila River	Sugar beet refining	April 1967.
Levi Strauss & Co	Coolidge	do	Wearing apparel	May 1968.
Trimble Cattle Co	Gila River Reservation.	do	Cattle feedlot	April 1967.
U.S. Modules, Inc	Parker	Colorado River	Prefabricated module buildings	May 1968.
Van's Evergreen Golf Course	Salt River Reservation.	Salt River	Golf course	August 1964.
Vostron Electronic (EPI-Vostron).	Page	Navajo	Electronic components	July 1967.
Western Superior Corp. (BVD).	Winslow	Hopi	Undergarments	August 1966.
Western Wood Products of Arizona.	Fort Apache Reservation.	Fort Apache	Log homes	May 1967.
Harry Winston Minerals of Arizona, Inc.	Chandler	Gila River	Diamond processing	May 1962.
FLORIDA				
Bunker-Ramo Corp	Hollywood	Hollywood	Electrical and electronic components.	June 1966.
Seminole Designs	do	Brighton and Big Cypress.	Indian novelty items	January 196[illegible]
IDAHO				
Pacific Crown Timber Products Co.	Plummer	Couer D'Alene	Lumber; planer mill	June 1966.
St. Marie's Plywood Co	St. Marie's	do	Plywood	February 1964.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED ON OR NEAR RESERVATIONS AS RESULT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968—Continued

Company name	Plant location	Employees from nearest reservation or area	Product	Date established
MINNESOTA				
Beco-Helman, Inc	Naytahwaush	White Earth	Contract sewng	September 1963.
Cohn-Feldman Co	Onamia	Mille Lacs	Men's clothing	March 1968.
Control Data Corp	Redwood Falls	Lower Sioux	Electronic parts assembly	June 1966.
Master Industries, Inc	Hastings	Prairie Island	Sheep hide tanning	January 1965.
Red Lake Chippewa Cedar Fence Co. [3]	Red Lake Reservation.	Red Lake	Rustic cedar fencing, posts, etc.	December 1968.
MISSISSIPPI				
Walter E. Heller & Co	Louisville	Choctaw	Electric clocks, cameras	March 1963.
Winston Container Corp	do	do	Cardboard cartons	February 1964.
MONTANA				
Big Horn Carpet Mills, Inc	Crow Reservation.	Crow	Tufted carpet	June 1967.
Black Lumber Co	Lame Deer	Northern Cheyenne.	Lumber	September 1967.
Chief Mountain Lumber Co	Browning	Blackfeet	do	November 1963.
Crow Industries, Inc	Hardin	Crow	Alfalfa pelletizing mill	August 1966.
Dupuis Bros. Lumber Co., Inc	Polson	Flathead	Lumber	December 1963.
Fort Peck Tribal Industries	Poplar	Fort Peck	Rifle maintenance	December 1968.
Glacier Homes, Inc	Browning	Blackfeet	Component houses	July 1968.
Guild Arts & Crafts, Inc	Ashland	Northern Cheyenne.	Plastic novelties, jewelry	June 1962.
Do	Lodge Grass	Crow	do	February 1968.
NEBRASKA				
Campbell Manufacturing	Walthill	Omaha	Farm equipment	October 1968.[1]
Omahaline Hydraulics Corp	do	do	Hydraulic cylinders and valves	October 1967.
Winnebago Pet Foods	Winnebago Reservation.	Winnebago	Cut and bone meat processing	Do.
NEVADA				
Nevaco, Inc	Wadsworth	Pyramid Lake	Commercial printing	July 1968.
NEW MEXICO				
Amizuni, Inc	Zuni Pueblo	Zuni	Electric memories	August 1967.
American Aspen Products, Inc	Domingo Pueblo.	Santo Domingo	Wood furniture cores	May 1961.
Burnell-Nytronics, Inc	Laguna Pueblo	Laguna	Electronic components	November 1962.
C & S Packing Co	Isleta Pueblo	Isleta	Food processing	May 1964.
Dittmore-Freimuth Corp	Zuni Pueblo	Zuni	Electronics	May 1967.
Duke City Lumber Co	San Juan Pueblo.	San Juan	Wood products	October 1965.
Fairchild Semiconductor Division.	Shiprock	Navajo	Solid-state electronic components.	July 1965.
Groves Archery Corp	Albuquerque	Isleta; Sandia	Archery equipment	October 1964.
Jicarilla Development Corp	Dulce	Jicarilla	Shopping center	October 1963.
Kaiser Gypsum Co	Rosario	Santo Domingo; Cochiti; San Felipe.	Gypsum wallboard	May 1960.
Ken's Eat and Go	Zuni Pueblo	Zuni	Drive-in restaurant	June 1967.
Mount Taylor Millwork, Inc	Grants	Acoma; Laguna; Navajo.	Wood molding	January 1965.
Nambe Mills, Inc	Pojoaque Pueblo.	Pojoaque	Tableware and accessories	May 1964.
Navajo Concrete Products Co	Gallup	Navajo	Concrete products	November 1964.
Navajo Furniture Industries, Inc.	do	do	Juvenile furniture	December 1956.
Otero Mills, Inc	Mescalero Reservation.	Mescalero	Wood products	March 1966.
Southwest Industries Division	Navajo	Navajo	Prefabricated houses	June 1965.
Yahtay Industries, Inc	Jemez	Jemez	Toys	June 1968.
	New York			
First Seneca Corp	Irving	Cattaraugus	Decorative pillows	April 1966.
Pal Precision	Salamanca	do	Ball point pens, marking pens	May 1968.
NORTH CAROLINA				
Saddlecraft, Inc	Cherokee	Cherokee	Indian novelties	May 1956.
Vassar Corp	do	do	Ladies' hair-styling accessories	June 1963.
White Shield of Carolina, Inc	do	do	Soft goods; quilts	October 1959.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED ON OR NEAR RESERVATIONS AS RESULT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968—Continued

Company name	Plant location	Employees from nearest reservation or area	Product	Date established
	NORTH DAKOTA			
Chief Manufacturing Co	Cannonball	Standing Rock	Souvenir items	December 1968.
Fabrico, Inc	Devils Lake	Fort Totten	Fiberglass tractor cabs	December 1967.
Five Star Cheese Co	Selfridge	Standing Rock	Cheese, milk products	May 1952.
Wm. Langer Jewel-Bearing Plant.	Rolla	Turtle Mountain.	Jewel bearings	March 1953.
	OKLAHOMA			
Alabama Charcoal Co	Baron	Cherokee	Charcoal	October 1963.
Bates Fabrics, Inc	Pryor	do	Bedspreads	March 1968.
Caddo Bag Co	Anadarko	Anadarko	Burlap bag renovation	May 1965.
Corning Glass Works	Shawnee	Shawnee and others.	Roofing	October 1968.
Dalton Foundries, Inc	Cushing	Sac and Fox	Castings	June 1968.
Durant Electronics Corp	Durant	Choctaw	Injection molded plastic toys	December 1964.
Emle (Western) Mills	Pawnee	Pawnee	Hosiery	December 1967.
Escoa Corp	Pryor	Cherokee	Finned tubing-refrigeration and air-conditioning.	August 1965.
Glassmaster Plastics Co., Inc	Grove	do	Boats	September 1968.
Kellwood Co. (supplier of Sears-R.).	Clinton	Concho	Bedspreads	July 1967.
Midwest Furniture Manufacturing Co.	Carnegie	Anadarko	Furniture	July 1966.
O-KAY Turkey, Inc. (Norbest)	Clinton	Cheyenne-Arapahoe.	Turkey processing	July 1962.
Oklahoma Warehouse Services	Anadarko	Anadarko	Cold storage warehouse	October 1964.
Phillips Products Co., Inc	Pryor	Cherokee	Plastic pipe	January 1965.
J. A. Runge Co	Seminole	Seminole	Fishing equipment	January 1968.
Sequoyah Carpet Mills, Inc	Anadarko	Anadarko	Tufted carpet	October 1962.
Do	Pawhuska	Osage	Carpet	October 1967.
Sequoyah Furniture & Bedding Co.	Vinita	Cherokee	Upholstered furniture and mattresses.	March 1968.
Sequoyah Furniture Manufacturing Co.	Elk City	Anadarko	Furniture (case goods)	July 1967.
Sequoyah Industries	Watonga	Cheyenne-Arapahoe.	Yarn (pinning)	December 1968.
Starcross-Oklahoma, Inc	Tahlequah	Cherokee	Household textiles	January 1968.
Systems Engineering Electronics, Inc.	Wewoka	Seminole	Plastic aircraft instrument panels.	October 1961.
Tahlequah, Inc	Poteau	Choctaw	Tufted carpet	January 1968.
University Sound-LTV	Fort Cobb	Anadarko	Speaker boxes and assembly	June 1967.
	OREGON			
Warm Springs Forest Products Industries.	Warm Springs Reservation.	Warm Springs	Lumber	May 1967.
	SOUTH DAKOTA			
Dakota Moccasin Co	Pine Ridge Reservation.	Pine Ridge	Moccasins	December 1966.
Jewelry Manufacture	Rosebud Reservation.	Rosebud	Squaw corn jewelry making	June 1967.
Mectronic Industries [3]	Greenwood	Yankton	Construction assembly electronic equipment.	April 1965.
Omni Design Corp	Sisseton	Sisseton	Printed circuit board	December 1968.
Do	Fort Thompson	Crow Creek	Snowmobiles	Do.
Do	Lower Brule	Lower Brule	Electronic test equipment	October 1968.
Pine Ridge Shopping Center	Pine Ridge Reservation.	Pine Ridge	Commercial retail	December 1967.
Products Miniature of South Dakota, Inc.	Mobridge	Standing Rock; Cheyenne River.	Molded plastic products	August 1965.
Rosebud Electronics	Mission	Rosebud	Cable harnessing	July 1967.
Rosebud Manufacturing Co., Inc.	Rosebud Reservations.	do	Counter tops, cabinets	November 1965.
Rosebud Sign Techniques & Sioux Art [3]	Mission	do	Reflectorized signs and art products.	August 1968.
Sioux Dairy Cooperative	do	do	Cheese	April 1964.
Sioux Mufflers, Inc	Fort Thompson	Crow Creek	Auto mufflers	November 1964.
Stonecraft Industries	Cherry Creek	Cheyenne River	Indian craft replicas	October 1967.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ESTABLISHED ON OR NEAR RESERVATIONS AS RESULT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968—Continued

Company name	Plant location	Employees from nearest reservation or area	Product	established Date
		WASHINGTON		
Cape Flattery Co	Neah Bay	Makah	Fishmeal	Do.
Cascade Western [1]	Toppenish	Yakima	Outerwear for men, women, children.	February 1968.
Suntex Veneer Corp	Spokane Reservation.	Spokane	Wood veneer	December 1965.
White Swan Industries, Inc	Wapato	Yakima	Furniture	October 1966.
		WISCONSIN		
Ashland Precision Products Corp.	Ashland	Bad River	Precision gears	June 1962.
Black River Dairy Products, Inc.	Black River Falls.	Winnebago	Pizzas	April 1966.
Indianhead Moccasin Co	Hayward	LacCourte Oreilles.	Moccasins, jackets, beaded goods.	December 1963.
Namekagon Leater, Inc	Spooner	St. Croix	Moccasins	March 1965.
Omni-Lab, Inc	New Post	LacCourte Oreilles.	Electronic and educational aids	April 1966.
Simpson Electric Co	Lac du Flambeau.	Lac du Flabeau.	Electric meters and parts	May 1946.
Walters Bros., Inc	LacCourte Oreilles.	LacCourte Oreilles.	Wood products	August 1960.
		WYOMING		
Datel of Wyoming	Riverton	Wind River	Computer devices	October 1967.

[1] Expansion.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1969.

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Enclosed are answers to the questions raised in Mr. Harold Finn's letter of April 9, following my and Assistant Commissioner Zellers' testimony before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education on March 27. A considerable amount of supplemental material is contained in several appendices.

I hope that this reply will serve to clarify those matters about which you were in doubt.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT L. BENNETT,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR MONDALE, MEMBER OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

1. What are the guidelines used in setting up the advisory school boards? Also, what are the guidelines used in turning the actual school over to the Indian people?

(a) What is Project Tribe?—background, regulations, guidelines, etc.

(b) How do you determine the readiness of local people? How do you go about it? How is the transfer effected?

In his message of March 6, 1968 to the Congress on the problems of the American Indian, President Johnson said, in part, "To help make the Indian school a vital part of the Indian community, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish Indian school boards for Federal Indian schools. School board members—selected by their communities—will receive whatever training is necessary to enable them to carry out their responsibilities."

Most Indian tribes had for many years had Education Committees within their tribal governments. These committees were advisory to the Bureau's education programs and served in a liaison capacity between the Bureau and the Tribe in education matters. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had on

January 16, 1967 appointed a 16 member all Indian National Indian Education Advisory Committee to advise him and the Assistant Commissioner for Education on matters affecting the education of Indian children and youth. This committee has met quarterly since that time.

In addition to this, however, as the most prompt and expeditious way of moving toward a full implementation of the President's directive, the Bureau called upon Indian communities which were served by Bureau schools, and which had not already done so under a policy statement dating back to 1951, to establish Indian advisory school boards. As of this date, most Indian communities have done so. Of the 75 communities in Alaska served by Bureau schools, all but one have selected an advisory board and 85 percent of these are actively involved in managment roles. The Navajo Area has reported that 50 of the 55 schools it operates have organized school boards. Fifty of the remaining 92 Bureau schools, including many of the off-reservation schools, are now served by advisory boards. In all, as of this date, 174 of the Bureau's 222 schools have school boards and most of the others will have achieved this by the opening of school next fall.

The kinds of functions which advisory school boards are well suited to perform are:

1) assisting with curriculum improvement, particularly by suggesting and providing cultural materials for inclusion, 2) consultation concerning the selection of employees, 3) consultation in setting up campus and school rules and regulations, 4) inspection of the school's physical plant, 5) encouragement of parents to enroll children in school, 6) regular visitation of the school, 7) facilitation of information between school and community, and 8) consultation concerning the budgeting and use of funds.

Undeniably, there are legal limits to the authority which an Indian school board can exercise so long as a school is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Teachers and other employees of such a school are hired and retained or separated according to Federal Civil Service regulations. They are entitled to certain appeal rights and grievance procedures. Thus, the right to "hire and fire" teachers, which is so central to the issue of community control of schools, is severely limited.

For this reason, an alternative, which would permit maximum control of a school by a local Indian community, has been proposed. In brief, this plan provides for a tribal governing body to initiate a request that under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs the Indian community be authorized to assume the responsibility for operation of a Bureau school under the direction and management of a local school board. Full funding would be provided by the Bureau and the school board would be responsible for providing an educational program which meets the standards of the State in which it operates. Evidence of approval of tribal operation of the school by a majority of the qualified voters of the community would be required.

Such an arrangement would mean that teachers would become Tribal rather than Federal employees and the local school board would have "hiring and firing" authority, as well as authority for making other decisions regarding the school program and operation. It should perhaps be pointed out that such authority will require that the local school board give attention to such problems as the recruitment, training, supervision, and retention of teachers from which it can no more escape than can any other school management authority. And while the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State Department of Education, and interested universities and colleges, may be able to give professional support and services to local school boards, they must be careful not to exercise control in doing so.

Proposed guidelines for the establishment of both advisory school boards and the contracting of school operation to tribal school boards are appended. The proposal for contracting, also appended, is now before the Solicitor, preparatory to its publication in the Federal Register. These proposals are known as Project Tribe and will be found in their entirety in Appendix A.

2. Please give us a report on the Loneman School District of Oglala Sioux Reservation which rejected local control.

(a) How was the vote divided?
(b) What was the total vote cast, and what is the total "eligible" vote?
(c) Were there any special problems?
(d) What preparatory actions were taken by the Bureau?

Did you make any efforts to clarify to the Indian people what they were voting on? Were there charges of termination made? Explain your efforts in setting up and carrying out the election.

BACKGROUND

We will comment first, generally, and secondly, specifically, on the above questions which cover:

(1) A time span July 1966 to the termination talk of the present time;

(2) The BIA attitude and the factors effecting a policy shift concerning contracting school operations, from a traditional position of "cautious neutrality" to the present position of active support for the concept generally, and the Loneman operations specifically;

(3) A period of internal dissension among the tribal leaders with charges of political chicanery about the proposed Loneman contract, resulting in a nearly complete turnover of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in July 1968 and the subsequent rejection by the White Clay District of the Loneman proposal on August 8, 1968.

PERTINENT FACTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL SETTING

Discussions began in 1966 by the District Council members about using the Loneman Day School to replicate the (then new) Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona. By the time the proposal had been formalized are submitted to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (February 1968) the rivalry for tribal leadership using the Demonstration School as the point of issue, had completely polarized the tribal membership.

The local BIA leadership managed to maintain a neutral position, thus keeping all other Bureau programs from being locked into the factionalism, with its charges and counter charges of political manipulations.

Aware that certain opposition was being generated within the baliwick of tribal politics and hoping to minimize such friction in future requests from tribal groups submitting contract proposals, guidelines were developed in the Washington office of the BIA to which the acronym PROJECT TRIBE (Tribal Responsibility in Better Education) has been given. Further analysis of the Bureau's role in contracting schools and the benefits to be attained by Indian participation and local control were documented in a position paper for the Bureau of the Budget in support of the contracting as a functional device. Thus in a few months a position of neutrality by the BIA shifted to one of strong support of the contractual concept to permit tribal or local control of Federal schools.

At the reservation level the ousted tribal members who favored the proposal formed OYATE, Incorporated, a nonprofit independent legal entity. They developed a working relationship with Black Hills State College and proceeded to draft a contract for Bureau signing with a provision that the college would supply the technical support and the expertise required to operate the Loneman School.

The Bureau was ready to talk contract-content with the corporation when requested by formal Tribal Resolution No. 68–40 to desist. The last paragraph read as follows:

"*Therefore, be it resolved, by the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in Regular Session on this 26th day of June 1968*, that the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Robert L. Bennett, hold in abeyance any opinion, action, or directives concerning this issue of a "Demonstration School" at the Loneman School, Oglala, South Dakota, until the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, through authority vested in the Executive Board, conducts a referendum vote of the eligible voters of the White Clay District and parents of school children to be involved, in the immediate future, to decide the issue at the "grass roots level."

The proponents issued a well-organized "Fact Sheet" (See Appendix). The opponents, who were in control of the Tribal Council, asked by phone and published the opinion of a legal aide to the Association of American Indina Affairs (See Appendix). The recounting of charges and counter charges, albeit objectively stated could well have been the final blow to the possibility of a favorable vote. On August 8, 1968 a referendum was held on the following questions with the votes shown for each precinct.

	To continue operation of the Loneman Day School as a Bureau of Indian Affairs school	For OYATE, Inc., to operate the Loneman Day School as a demonstration school, under contract with the BIA
No. 5 Loneman precinct	96	38
No. 6 St. John's Episcopal Church precinct	25	16
Oglala Junior precinct	13	41
Red Shirt Table precinct	0	9
Total	134	104

Total listed voters of White Clay District	559
Cast votes	244
Spoiled ballots	6
Valid ballots	238

The vote cast was about 44 percent of those eligible to vote.

Specifically:

(a) *How was the vote divided?*

134 to 104 to remain a BIA operated school.

(b) *What was the total vote cast, and what is the total "eligible" vote?*

244 ballots cast out of 559 eligible voters.

(c) *Were there any special problems?*

See body of presentation.

(d) *What preparatory actions were taken by the Bureau?*

Once the issue was charged as being political, (tribal politics) it became mandatory that the Bureau remain neutral. (See Appendix for Resolution No. 68–40, which both details the charge of political motivation and the role the governing body of the Tribe expected of the Bureau).

Did you make any efforts to clarify to the Indian people what they were voting on?

See the body of the presentation for a discussion of the Bureau role.

Where were the charges of termination made?

We understand now that there was some discussion of the contract being a device which would lead to termination. Any future contracts proposed will state in the body that the Bureau will resume operations upon the formal and legal request of the group being served.

This position is consistent with the Bureau's remaining responsible to the Congress for Indian education.

Explain your efforts in setting up and carrying out the election.

This was discussed elsewhere; however, tribal elections, regardless of the issue, are conducted in accordance with prescribed procedures and are totally a tribal function. The fact sheet, legal opinion, resolution of the Tribal Council, and letter from the President of the Tribal Council to the Commissioner, will be found in Appendix B.

3. We need a thorough description of the BIA selection and training program of dormitory aides.

In summary, the following statements may be made with respect to selection and training of dormitory aides with titles of instructional aide, supervisory instructional aide, and night attendant. The basic information relates to present staff in all Areas providing day and residential schools, except Navajo and Juneau, from which reports had not been received as of this writing. Ages range from 18 to 69 with a median of 47. The large majority of these personnel are married and more than half are female. In accordance with Civil Service requirements for education or training, most of these individuals have a high school education, but not all necessarily possess a high school diploma. Civil Service requirements provide for a substitution of 1 year of experience for a high school diploma.

Most employees under these titles are Civil Service career-conditional appointees who advance to career appointment through one-the-job experience. Relatively few are temporary employees. All schools send some of their staff to summer workshops. Approximately half of the present employees under these titles have been participants in summer workshops during the last 10 years. Although there is some attempt to encourage personnel at this level to take advantage of educational leave provisions, only a few do so because of difficulties in providing sufficient numbers of replacement staff to meet the needs. This also interferes with on-the-job or concurrent training such as extension college courses, correspondence courses, or a program of reading and regular staff meetings relating to child development and human behavior. Nevertheless, many schools provide for weekly staff meetings and a number provide for supervisory inservice guidance and training.

Greater details on the present practices of each area are contained in the attached outlines.

4. We want a thorough description of your efforts in the field of curriculum and textbook development. Progress to date. Expected progress in the near future. How closely are your efforts coordinated with those of the regional education laboratories? We would like more information on Dr. Bryde's work. How much money is actually being spent on curriculum and textbook development? What are your projected needs? What kind of local involvement, if any, is there in the area of curriculum development?

I

Because of the obvious importance of curriculum development to a sound educational program, the BIA Office of Education has as a substantial program element the Division of Curriculum Development and Review.

The Jeffersonian concept of education, still a basis of our public school system, was to develop a knowledgeable citizenry to provide a foundation for the Republic.

The goal of Indian education as promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is a citizen, of Indian ancestry, who has the skills and knowledge to decide for himself what his life style will be. This decision will be made with the awareness of the alternatves; what will be gained, what will be lost, what must be compromised.

In order to reach this goal, curricula revision is taking place in all academic fields, at all grade levels. The specifics of this will be detailed.

II

The Division of Curriculum Development and Review is involved in developmental projects on a Bureauwide basis and, to a minor extent, at the Area level.

We can be specific and detailed only about those projects administered by the Washington Office of Education. Our description of Area level projects would be regrettably sketchy and incomplete.

A. *"Project Necessities"—Bureauwide*

Social science curriculum revision—grades K–12.

Progress to date: development of basic conceptual framework on which curriculum will be structured.

Expected progress through 10/69: one model unit for each grade; scope and sequence—grades K–12; piloting and evaluation of materials in classroom.

Cost of curriculum development: $106,665.

Cost of text materials produced: $73,753.

Projected needs: $350,000 for continuance fiscal year 1970.

Local (Indian) involvement: the original Steering Committee was 25 percent Indian or Alaskan Native; an ad hoc advisory committee consisting entirely of Indians or Alaskan Natives was convened to review and comment on the work of the Steering Committee; the project director will be an Indian; a permanent advisory committee to review the units developed has been established; a network of Indian and Alaskan Native consultants has been established; a survey of Indian and Alaskan Native peoples in being made to establish priorities.

B. *Acculturation Psychology or How to Be a Modern Indian*

"Bryde Project," John Bryde, author, grades K–12.

Social science project—Bureauwide (Sioux or Plains oriented).

Progress to date: ninth grade and first grade texts completed, ninth grade text in field test.

Expected progress to 10/69: necessary revisions in text, large scale reproduction for Bureauwide testing program. (Large unit on Sioux history may need to be replaced when dealing with other tribes).

Cost of curriculum development: $5,286.

Cost of text materials produced: $29,956.

Projected needs: $50,000 for revision and printing.

Local (Indian) involvement: the text was originated to meet the found needs of adolescent Sioux children taught by Dr. Bryde. His closeness to and involvement with the Sioux community has been noteworthy for many years.

This project has recently been evaluated in the field by an education specialist/social sciences (Mr. Albert Y. Ouchi). Some of his findings are:

"Additionally, a student questionnaire was distributed and collected from 159 students . . . This number would be less than half . . . now using the Bryde text but . . . can be considered a reliable sample of student population for this survey . . . Students' reactions were:

"46.8 percent ranked (the material) highest, as interesting.
"45.6 percent classified the course as very important.
"53.8 percent said (the course) was interesting.
"74.7 percent (associated the course and text with) pride.

"Only two responded negatively.

"As one travels through the Dakotas and the Indian communities of the area, it is difficult to miss the excitement that is associated with Bryde's Project! Basic description of text and underlying philosophy:

"The text is a contrastive study of value systems; the 'traditional' Sioux; the remnants of this value system in the 'Modern' Sioux, and the non-Indian value system. The text is an attempt to help the student understand what he believes and why, and how this value system must be adapted or compromised to live in a non-Indian culture."

C. *"Cultural Arts Project"—Bureauwide*

Fine arts, music, drama, graphic arts, grades K–12.

Progress to date: contracted with Center for Arts of Indian America. Funds matched by Ford Foundation. Provided ensemble concerts in New Mexico and Arizona. Subcontracted with Museum of New Mexico to design and implement a traveling can exhibit of Navajo art and culture. Graduate students received training in Theater Arts at the Tyrone Guthrie Theater, Minneapolis, then to South Dakota to assist teachers and students with drama.

Cost of curriculum development: $150,000.

Cost of materials: (unknown)

Projected needs (continuance): $350,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

D. *Alaska Art Need Survey—Funded from Washington—Juneau Area*

Fine arts: Grades 7–12.

Progress to date: organization of a survey to determine what needs of Alaskan Native and Indian students could be met by an art-centered curriculum.

Expected progress 10/69: outline of kind of program best suited to meet the unmet needs of Alaskan children.

Cost of curriculum development: $49,750.

Projected needs: approximately $150,0[illegible] exact amount will depend upon result of study.

Local (Indian) involvement: the survey (study) will be done with Indian and native peoples. Thus, they will determine the program and curriculum.

E. *"Creative Writing Workshops"* Bureauwide

English Language Arts: Grades 9–12.

Progress to date: workshops in the development of creative writing with second language learners.

Expected progress: development of a body of Indian literature as a source of identity and language growth for Indian students.

Cost of curriculum development: $35,000.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected needs: $35,000 for continuation.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

F. English As A Second Language

1. ESL Proficiency Test

English Language Arts: contract with Dr. Eugene Briere, grades 3–7.

Progress to date: developed oral and written power pretests; administered pretests; computer item analysis; revised pretest.

Progress expected: pretests in final form, administered, results evaluated by computer item analysis, final revision of pretests.

Cost of curriculum development: $100,000.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: $85,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: initial tests were done in Navajo; local people used for taping original instructions.

2. Styles of Learning Conference—Bureauwide

Educational theory: contract with Center for Applied Linguistics.

Progress to date: conference held at Stanford University including anthropologists, linguists, educators. Outlined feasible research projects and sources of funding.

Progress expected: funding of some of the research projects proposed through outside sources.

Cost of curriculum development: $19,000.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: none.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

3. Bilingual-Bicultural Kindergarten

Early childhood education: contracted with Center for Applied Linguistics.

Progress to date: recommendations for curriculum development and teacher training: Final report. Recommendations reviewed and discussed at second meeting.

Progress expected: Completed.

Cost of curriculum development: $16,500.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: none.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

4. Contrastive Language Papers—Bureauwide

English language arts: contract with Center for Applied Linguistics—K–12.

Progress to date: Choctaw-English; Papago-English; and Navajo-English contrastive papers are in preparation.

Progress expected: Publication of these papers.

Cost of curriculum development: $7,000.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: none.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

5. English for American Indians (ESL Newsletter)—Bureauwide

English language arts: contracted with Center for Applied Linguistics—K–12.

Progress to date: distribution of two newsletters explaining recent developments in technology of ESL; exchanging methods among BIA teachers.

Progress expected: one additional newsletter will be prepared and distributed in fiscal year 1969.

Cost of curriculum development: $19,500.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: $19,500 for continuance.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

6. Hopi-English Bilingual Texts—Hopi Reservation

Hopi. English language arts: contract with Northern Arizona Supplementary Education Center—B–1.

Progress to date: preparation of bilingual initial reading material for Hopi children.

Progress expected: publication of bilingual texts for use in Hopi schools.

Cost of curriculum development: none.

Cost of text materials: $50,000.

Projected need: none.

Local (Indian) involvement: Hopi people were used as consultants and resource people; folk tales were taped. Conferred with Hopi Tribal Council concerning use of these materials.

G. Kindergarten Training Program—Bureauwide

Early childhood education: contract with National Association for Education of Young Children.

Progress to date: establishment and implement of 30 kindergartens; teachers and aides: Development of tentative kindergarten guide; development of program of sound early childhood education practices.

Progress expected 10/69: additional 35 kindergarten units to be established (fiscal year 1970) staffed and equipped.

Cost of curriculum development: $296,255.

Cost of text materials: $23,400.

Projected need: $300,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: Indian people have been involved in the development of the curriculum since the first planning session in Albuquerque, 1968. Continued assistance, support, and consultation has been sought. Indian parents and tribal leaders are an integral part of the operation of a successful BIA kindergarten program.

H. Bilingual, Bicultural Kindergarten Implementation—Bureauwide

Early childhood education—language arts: Navajo Area.

Progress to date: planning and training for the operation of bilingual, bicultural pilot kindergarten units utilizing the native language (through aides) of the students for instruction.

Progress expected: implementation of these units if funding is available.

Cost of curriculum development: $80,000 ESEA Title III Grant.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected needs: $150,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: needs and requirements developed through involvement of Indian people in committees; local Indian people will be hired as aides.

I. Mathematics Project—Navajo Area—Mathematics

Progress to date: summer workshop teacher-training in mathematics education through an N.S.F. grant, Navajo Area teachers only. Bureau will provide T.V. receivers to permit continual inservice training during school year.

Progress expected: yearlong inservice training, improved mathematics instruction for Navajo children.

Cost of curriculum development: $25,000 NDEA III.

Cost of text materials: (unknown).

Projected need: additional N.S.F. grant.

Local (Indian) involvement: three Navajo people are serving as resource people for the training session at Arizona State University.

J. Biological Sciences Curriculum Study—Bureauwide—biological sciences

Progress to date: establishment of BSCS program in BIA high schools, installation of equipment, supplies and texts.

Progress expected: continued implementation of BSCS until the course is standard in all BIA high schools.

Cost of curriculum development: $90,000.

Cost of text materials: (unknown).

Projected need: $50,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: (unknown).

K. MATCH Project—Bureauwide—social science

Progress to date: implementation of innovative materials in BIA curriculum; Match unit, "The Japanese Family," made available to two areas for pilot study.

Progress expected: Match unit, "The City," to be made available to first graders for pilot study based on the premise that understanding other cultures will help children understand their own.

Cost of curriculum development: $2,422.

Cost of text materials: none.

Projected need: $5,000.

Local (Indian) involvement: none.

BUREAUWIDE PROJECTS, DIVISION OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND REVIEW

	For curriculum development	For text or materials development	Projected needs, fiscal year 1970
Project Necessities	$106,665	$73,753	$350,000
Acculturation psychology	5,286	29,956	50,000
Cultural arts	150,000		350,000
Alaska cultural arts	49,750		[1] 150,000
Creative writing	35,000		35,000
ESL proficiency tests	100,000		85,000
Styles of learning workshop	19,000		
Bilingual and bicultural kindergarten planning	16,500		
Contrastive language papers	7,000		
English for American Indians (ESL newsletter)	19,500		19,500
Kindergarten training program	296,255	23,400	300,000
Mathematics project	25,000		(2)
BSCS project	90,000		50,000
Match project	2,422		5,000
Bilingual and bicultural kindergarten implementation	80,000		150,000
Hopi-English texts		50,000	
Total	1,002,378	177,109	1,544,500
Grand total	1,179,487		

[1] Approximate figure.

[2] Will require additional NSF grant for continuance or equivalent.

III

Cooperation and coordination of curriculum development and review and text material production with the activities of the regional educational laboratories.

While the involvement of regional educational laboratories has been concerned mainly with research, there has been a certain degree of interaction in curriculum development.

The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory has an intercultural mathematics project dealing with the problems of the Spanish-American, Mexican-American student. They have provided our mathematics specialist with an item analysis of mathematics tests of BIA students based on testing done for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau has cooperated with the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in the development of Alaska Readers oriented to the culture of Indians and Alaskan Natives. Nine of the pilot schools are BIA operated, involving 150 Bureau students. BIA teachers attended the August 1968 workshops where training was held in the use of these materials. Increased and expanded involvement is expected in the school year, 1969–1970.

5. Give us a description of TESL and how many, and which, schools employ this method. What are you doing in the field of bilingual education and what advances have you made in the last 5 years?

WHAT IS TESL?

TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) is a method which attempts to incorporate sound linguistic principles into the teaching of English to those who do not speak it as a native tongue. It is based on the assumption that it is not sufficient to be a native speaker of English in order to teach it effectively. In addition, one must know *about* the language—its sounds, its structure, and its vocabulary. It is a method which views language learning not as merely adding to one's vocabulary, although this, too, is essential, but more as a mastery of the sound system and the grammar acquired through practice designed to produce automatic control. Basic principles of TESL include the following:

1. Spoken language is primary. Writing is a separate system and fails to give a complete picture of oral speech. Writing tells us nothing of stress, pitch, rhythm, or cultural convention which are a part of speech. We employ, therefore, what is referred to as the "oral approach" which emphasizes the necessity of the student being introduced to spoken forms before he encounters them in writing. The oral approach has been summarized as proceeding in this order: hearing, speaking, reading writing.

2. Language patterns are taught by a series of activities which give the learner an opportunity to hear the patterns repeated often (preferably by native speak-

ers) and to repeat them until he has achieved automatic mastery. Practice is varied to avoid boredom (especially for the young child) and includes listening to and repeating dialogues, and engaging in activities which reinforce the learning.

3. Heavy emphasis is placed on the use of visual materials in the lessons; i.e., pictures, objects, flannel board figures, etc.

4. Materials which are used to guide teachers, progress from the simple to the more complex structures of English with emphasis on the special difficulties or interference in both structure and pronunciation caused by the student's mother tongue; e.g., there is no sound in Navajo which corresponds to that represented by *th* in *the* or in *throat*. Therefore, Navajo children need a great deal of practice with the initial and final sounds of words like *the*, *this*, *bath*, *both*, etc.

5. Heavy emphasis is given to pronunciation.

6. Language is taught within the framework of the culture which that language represents.

7. Language is taught the way it is *actually* spoken, rather than as an artificial classroom exercise. The goal is communication and inconspicuousness in the speech community.

8. Although tight control is maintained to avoid the practicing of errors when new patterns are first introduced, this is relaxed when the teacher feels the students are ready. Free communication is the true goal of every lesson.

9. English is practiced every day for a designated period.

10. Lessons and visual aids are based on the interests of the age group being taught. Whenever possible, materials which are culturally relevant to the student are used.

In summary, TESL refers to an approach to the teaching of English which emphasizes oral language and a systematic introduction of the patterns and sounds of English. Patterns are taught by repetition to insure automatic mastery, using varied activities and visuals appropriate for the age group and cultural background of students. Emphasis is given to sounds or structures which may cause difficulty because of the student's mother tongue.

It should be noted that an oral approach does *not* imply the exclusion of written language. A TESL program includes every phase of language arts: listening, speaking, reading, and both functional and creative writing. But it is felt that reading and writing are more successfully taught if an oral competence provides the base.

WHERE IS TESL USED IN BUREAU SCHOOLS?

In the teaching of English, our greatest areas of concern are with the Navajos in the Southwest, the Alaskan natives (Eskimos, Aleuts, and Alaskan Indians) and the Mississippi Choctaw in the south of our country. These groups enter our schools with little or no English. A much smaller group in need of help are Miccosukee and Seminole tribes in Florida. Possessing more English but of a nonstandard variety are the Sioux, the Oklahoma Indians, and Pueblo groups, including the Hopi.

TESL ACTIVITIES IN THE BUREAU

Although inservice training in TESL has been given to teachers in all these areas, up until now the greatest strides in the program have taken place on the Navajo Reservation where approximately 20,000 Indian children attend BIA schools. The basic program includes continuing training for teachers in the form of workshops in which teachers are instructed in linguistics, methodology, materials evaluation, and Indian culture, and observation in demonstration schools where teachers have the opportunity to watch highly trained specialists in the classroom.

In addition, for the first time, materials for teaching English are being designed specifically for Navajo learners. Rather than having to adapt materials written for other language groups, the Navajo now have the first in a series of teachers' guides designed for beginning Navajo students. The guides are linguistically sequenced and based on a contrastive analysis of Navajo and English with special emphasis on predicted grammatical and phonological areas of special difficulty for Navajo speakers. These guides have been developed under the guidance of linguists at major universities in the United States—Dr. Robert Wilson of UCLA, and Dr. Mary Jane Cook at the University of Arizona in Tucson. An increasing interest in Indian and Eskimo languages, and a growing sophistication in the area of materials development for the teaching of English, should insure the proliferation of such projects. In the near future, we hope to have materials, on the order of those now being used with the Navajo, for the Eskimo, and the Choctaw.

More and more, the BIA is developing connections with major universities, not merely in the United States, but in the world at large, and in all areas of curriculum. In the summer of 1967, a thousand-teacher TESL Workshop was conducted for teachers for the Navajo schools by Dr. Wilson and a staff of linguists and TESL specialists.

This type of contract is urgently desired by the Bureau and considered essential to bridging the gap between research in education and implementation of its conclusions in the field. Another university connection is in the area of testing. Dr. Eugene Briere, a psycholinguist, is developing a set of tests to determine the English language proficiency of BIA students. These tests will determine which students need help in English and at what level the help should be. These tests are being designed for use with Indian and Eskimo children in grades three through seven.

The BIA also maintains a professional relationship with the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. The Center is a nonprofit internationally-oriented professional organization which serves as a clearinghouse and informal coordinating body in the application of linguistics to practical language problems. In the spring of 1967, the Center did a study on the problems of teaching English to American Indians for the Bureau. Members of the study included such eminent specialists in the fields of linguistics and TESOL as J. Donald Bowen, UCLA, William R. Slager, University of Utah; and Rudolph C. Troike, University of Texas. The purpose of the study was to assess the learning and teaching of English in several specified areas in BIA sponsored and public schools. Based on this study, the Center developed recommendations for more effective teaching and use of English in BIA schools. Many of the Bureau's projected plans are based on these recommendations. Last summer, (August 1968) the Center's recommendation for research on styles of learning among the Indian community and their relationship to the teaching and learning of English, was implemented by a planning conference at Stanford University.

Another activity recommended by the CAL and being carried on through that organization, is the tri-annual publication of an ESL Newsletter—*English for American Indians*, a journal containing articles on methodology, Bureau ESL programs, an information exchange of teacher ideas, and annotated bibliography. In addition, three papers contrasting English and a major Indian language, will be completed and distributed by the end of the year and will offer not merely an analysis of likely difficulties but teaching suggestions as well.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In addition to implementing the Center's recommendations, the BIA is actively interested in pursuing a program of bilingual education. Although native-speaking aides have been responsible for some form of bilingual instruction in Bureau schools for many years, it has only been in the past few years that planned programs of instruction involving mother tongue and English and extending beyond the beginning levels have resumed the bilingual trend initiated in the thirties and forties.

Last year, a Title III sponsored program at the Bureau day school in Taos, New Mexico, where they attribute their failure in teaching reading to a lack of oral mastery of English, attempted to teach reading in native tongue first—Tiwa in this case. Tiwa was also used as the language of classroom instruction, with a period of oral English as a part of each day. A special orthography including the phonemes of both Tiwa and English was taught to beginning and first-grade pupils who began reading with a familiar Tiwa story. The plan included introducing Roman orthography in the second and third grades with a continuation of the special script both for the introduction of new work and continued reading in Tiwa.

Other aspects of the program were the inclusion of Indian culture and the use of modern math curriculum with emphasis on manipulation and concrete experience to provide the basis for later verbal abstractions.

Both Rough Rock (Tribal) and Rock Point (BIA) elementary schools located in Arizona have been including in their programs reading instruction in Navajo and

Navajo culture. Rough Rock also has formal instruction in Navajo-as-a-second language for non-Navajo speakers.

After experimenting with various ways of using Navajo in the classroom, (small group reading and talking in Navajo with older children and math and social studies help in Navajo for younger children) Wayne Holm, Rock Point's principal submitted a proposal for a bilingual program. At present, a bilingual kindergarten and beginners class is in operation. English and Navajo teachers work as a team and beginners are being taught to read in Navajo.

A contract with the Northern Arizona Supplementary Education Center (NASEC) in Flagstaff, Arizona has revived the development of native literacy materials begun in the thirties. NASEC is currently developing bilingual primary texts, filmstrips and tapes in Hopi and English. The stories used in the texts are being recorded from native informants and transcribed in native tongue and English. At present, preschool materials and primary texts are being prepared and plans are to go on to intermediate and secondary levels in the future.

NASEC plans to use native-speaking teachers and aides who, after being taught to read in the vernacular, will teach older students. The more able students will then, under supervision, teach the younger children. A selected group of schools will be used to try out the materials which will then be evaluated, revised and offered for general use.

The interest generated by the Bureau's bilingual efforts of the past few years and, indeed, the national and international attention given to bilingual programs involving all groups who do not enter school with a command of the national language, make it likely that these programs will continue and expand.

Plans for a pilot, bilingual kindergarten program for Navajo children, beginning in the fall of this year and involving six classes, are being made at the present time. On October 11–12, 1968, the first of two project planning meetings was held at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C.

The Center invited specialists in early childhood education, linguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropology, ESL, and related fields. The first meeting was devoted to the educational, cultural, and linguistic goals of such a program, to curriculum content, to problems related to the use of Navajo as a medium of instruction and to the use and teaching of English in kindergarten activities. The preparation of Navajo and non-Navajo teachers was discussed at the remaining sessions.

Although Navajo has been the chief area of concentration in the past, and will most likely continue to be so because of the size of its population, there has been much interest recently in Alaskan native groups. A project has been submitted which proposes to develop curriculum materials for the teaching of Inupiat (Northern Eskimo) and Kutchin and upper Tanana (Athabascan) Alaskan native dialects at the fourth-grade level. This program would, over a 5-year period, prepare similar materials down through the first year.

The Juneau Area of the BIA is preparing a bilingual proposal at this time and it is likely that others from this area will follow. Both the Rock Point and Rough Rock experiments will continue to develop, with increased emphasis being put on evaluation, especially in the areas of reading and TESL.

On the basis of research conducted with other non-English-speaking groups, which leads us to believe that a child reads more easily in a second language if he has first made the association of the written symbols with the sounds of his first language, the area of reading research is high on the Bureau's list of priorities. The study done by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1967 made the recommendation that:

> ". . . three pilot classes in reading the mother tongue be initiated in comparable schools, with children of the same age and approximate ability who know no English and whose native languages are different, and that these classes be matched with control classes whose introduction to reading is in English."

At present, plans are being made to implement this recommendation.

The problems of providing bilingual programs for Indian students no longer seem unsurmountable, although, certainly time and adequate funding will be needed to lay the groundwork. Some materials exist for the Navajo, Hopi, Sioux, and Eskimo but texts for other groups can be developed only after extensive descriptive work and the development of a suitable orthography.

The training of native-speaking personnel to assume major responsibility for classrooms will also require time and funds but internship programs which make it possible for natives to further their education, and in increasing interest on the part of native aides in becoming professionals, are making inroads.

Decisions must eventually be made as to the type of bilingual program which is best for our students. Of interest is a comparative study now being made by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory (SWCEL) in Albuquerque, examining the effectiveness of four different combinations of Navajo and English with Navajo children in grades one through three. In one approach, for example, all aspects of the program would begin in Navajo and gradually be shifted over to English during a 2-year period. In another, the oral language program would be in English from the beginning with content instruction in Navajo and a gradual phasing into English over approximately a 1-year period. In this approach reading, which would be begun after 6 months of the first year, would be entirely in English.

One of the major problems at this point, I believe, that of determining objectives which, in turn, will affect our decisions on curriculum content and method. Whereas Dade County, Florida and San Antonio schools are educating students for participation in truly bilingual societies with a strong possibility of students receiving even post-high school work in mother tongue, it is unlikely, at least in the near future, that even our largest group, the Navajo, will find themselves part of a truly bilingual Navajo-English culture in the Southwest. And, outside of the new Navajo Community College, temporarily located at Many Farms, Arizona, use of the Navajo language for higher education does not seem practicable.

If we were to define our goals for bilingual education with our Indian students at this point, which may well be premature, I think the use of mother tongue would be considered most useful as an effective bridge to eventual instruction in English and as a means of avoiding both the progressive academic retardation so common in our Indian students and the damage to their self image induced by the rejection of native language and culture.

SCHOOLS AND PUPILS IN THE BUREAU'S TESL PROGRAM

Location	Tribe(s)	Number of schools	Number of students
Arizona	Navajo	58	18,652
New Mexico			
Utah			
Colorado			
Mississippi	Choctaw	7	1,247
Florida	Miccosukee	1	44
	Seminole	1	39
Alaska (Bethel District)	Eskimo Alaskan Indian groups.	73	2,530
New Mexico	Pueblo	11	1,597
Arizona			
Total		151	24,109

In addition to work in regular classrooms, several of our secondary schools have language laboratories. An extensive language laboratory program exists at Intermountain School, (Brigham City, Utah) and reaches a majority of the school's 2,177 students. Other schools possessing labs are IAIA, Fort Wingate High School, and Choctaw Central High.

Taken from: *Statistics Concerning Indian Education*, Fiscal Year 1968. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Education.

The following reports will be found in Appendix C:

(1) The Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians.

(2) Styles of Learning Among American Indians—An Outline for Research.

(3) *English for American Indians*—Winter 1969.

6. Submit copies of all current JOM contracts. What are the actual guidlines followed by the Bureau in entering into these contracts? What is the Bureau's actual responsibility? Does the Secretary of the Interior develop the guidelines followed? Does the Bureau have any role in the development of these guidelines?

(a) What were the total JOM expenditures for each of the last 5 years? What was the total population eligible and receiving JOM assistance?

We would like a list of the schools receiving JOM and the amounts they receive.

If possible, could we have the number of Indian teachers in each of these schools, the number of Indians on each school board, and the Indian enrollment that qualified for JOM purposes in each school.

(b) At the local level, can you require that Indian board be set up to oversee the expenditure of JOM money?

Have you recived any answer on the ruling on whether JOM money can go directly to the tribe involved rather than to local schools? When did you ask for the ruling? What is the expected outcome?

Current Johnson-O'Malley contracts for the following are enclosed:

States.—Arizona, Alaska, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin.

Peripheral Dormitories.—Arizona—Winslow, Holbrook, Flagstaff, Snowflake; New Mexico—Albuquerque, Aztec, Gallup McKinley; Utah—Richfield.

Districts.—Unified School District 337, Mayetta, Kansas; Brown County (Powhattan School), Kansas; Arapaho School District 19, Wyoming; South Tama County Community Sch. Dist., Tama, Iowa; Montezuma-Cortez School District, Rt. 1, Cortez, Colo.; Ignacio United Schools, Dist. No. 11 Jt., Ignacio, Colo.; Jones County, Mississippi; Florida (Seminoie Agency).

What are the actual guidelines followed by the Bureau in entering into these contracts?

(1) ***State Plans.*** One for each of the following States is enclosed: Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota.

(2) ***Indian Affairs Manual.*** (62 IAM 3, Public School Contracts)—one copy is enclosed.

(3) ***U.S. Code of Federal Regulations.*** (25 CFR Chapter I, Part 33).

What is the Bureau's actual responsibility?

The authority for the negotiation and execution of Johnson-O'Malley contracts is delegated to the Area Directors, Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is done in accordance with applicable laws and rules, including State Plans. State Plans are formulated and approved by representatives of both the State and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has final approving authority.

Does the Secretary of the Interior develop the guidelines followed?

No.

Does the Bureau have any role in the development of these guidelines?

Yes. Answered above under the question, "What is the Bureau's actual responsibility?"

(a) What were the total Johnson-O'Malley expenditures for each of the last 5 years?

Fiscal year:	
1964	$7,424,000
1965	7,794,000
1966	8,654,000
1967	9,452,000
1968	9,952,000

What was the total population eligible and receiving JOM assistance?

Fiscal year:	
1964	57,688
1965	55,581
1966	61,195
1967	57,338
1968	62,676

List of schools receiving JOM and the amount (fiscal year 1968).

The breakdown of amount of JOM funds recived is by school districts in all States except Oklahoma. The breakdown in Oklahoma is made on a County basis with the number of school districts participating listed.

If possible, could we have the number of Indian teachers in each of these schools, the number of Indians on each school board, and the Indian enrollment that qualified for JOM purposes in each school.

Indian enrollment that qualified for JOM funds is being listed for fiscal year 1968. This information is by school districts for all States except Oklahoma. Listings for this State are by counties.

Complete information regarding the number of Indian teachers and school board members in schools receiving JOM funds is not immediately available. We are providing what we have been able to collect in the short time available.

Minnesota.—22 Indian teachers employed in 18 different schools. 25 Indian board members in 5 different schools.

Iowa.—1 Indian teacher. No board members.

Wisconsin.—10 indian teachers in 10 schools. 2 Indian board members in 2 schools.

Washington.—11 Indian board members in 5 different schools. 11 Indian teachers in 6 different schools.

Nevada.—1 Indian board member.

Montana.—38 Indian teachers and administrators in 20 schools. 34 Indian board members in 20 schools.

North Dakota.—3 Indian teachers. 15 board members.

Nebraska.—3 Indian teachers. 7 board members.

South Dakota.—13 Indian teachers. 6 board members.

New Mexico.—19 Indian teachers. 20 Indian board members in 8 schools surveyed.

(b) Project Tribe, which, as explained in the answer to question I, includes the proposal to contract with Indian school boards for the operation of Bureau schools under certain conditions was submitted to the Department of the Interior in January 1969. The Solicitor's office has rendered a preliminary opinion, under date of March 14, 1969, that such an arrangement does not have the proper authorization in law. The Solicitor found that the Johnson-O'Malley Act (25 USC 452) does not authorize the Secretary of the Interior to contract with Indian tribal entities for educational services but was intended to confer authority on the Secretary to contract with States and their political subdivisions, State universities, colleges or schools, or with any appropriate State or private corporation, agency or institution.

The Solicitor found, on the other hand, that authorization under the "Buy Indian" Act (25 USC 47) is lacking because the Johnson-O'Malley Act superseded it in the area of contracting for educational services.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs vigorously rebutted the Solicitor's opinion on April 3 contending that the Johnson-O'Malley Act did not supersede or abrogate the Secretary's authority under the "Buy Indian" Act to contract with Indian groups for educational services but rather complemented it by extending it to include State and private agencies. The Solicitor has not yet replied to the Commissioner's rebuttal but a reply is expected soon. The Commissioner hopes, of course, that the reply will be favorable.

It should be pointed out that the Bureau is not contending that it has authority under the Johnson-O'Malley Act to contract with an Indian school board, but rather under the "Buy Indian" Act. It should be pointed out further that the Solicitor is explicit in holding that the Buereau can contract with an Indian school board *if it has incorporated under the laws of the State in which it resides,* and has thus became a private corporation. This is the case with Dine, Inc., at Rough Rock and would have been the case with Oyate, Inc., at Loneman if the community referendum had supported it.

Not connected directly with the matter before the Solicitor is the suggestion made at the hearing on March 27 that a public school board might be required to secure the concurrence of Indian representation as to the use and application of Johnson-O'Malley funds. It seems clear that such an inclusion would be within the Bureau's negotiating authority, although policy considerations dictate that such a requirement be explored jointly with State and tribal officials. Such talks will be held. It should be noted, however, that already many public school districts are voluntarily providing for Indian representation in school policy matters through Indian advisory groups, including the development of programs financed through Johnson-O'Malley funds.

See Appendix D for copies of Johnson-O'Malley contracts; guides for entering into JOM contracts; list of schools receiving JOM assistance, with amounts; and enrollment in schools receiving JOM.

7. Commissioner Bennett mentioned a $180 million backlog—was this only for construction in Alaska? Please break down further and explain how this came about.

The $180 million backlog refers to 119 projects in Alaska and other States, which would provide 7,824 new spaces and 7,516 replacements in Bureau schools for Indian children. The actual estimated total for all projects is $178,817,000, of which $84,479,000 is for Alaska. Of this latter amount, $37,500,000 is estimated for construction of dormitories to be operated in conjunction with State regional high schools. This is a new program and accounts for about one-fifth of the total backlog. Some of the other needs which the Bureau has been unable to meet within available appropriations include construction of additional classrooms, replacement of obsolete, substandard buildings, and upgrading of facilities to meet State standards in preparation for transfer to State operation.

8. How much has been spent in the last 10 years, break down by year on building renovation and new construction in Oklahoma—identify the schools which it was given to. Why couldn't this money have been used for construction in Alaska? If this continues, will it not lead to a perpetuation of the problem of sending Alaskan natives to school in the States?

During the past 10 years, 1960–1969, a total of $8,777,183 was expended for construction of school facilities in Oklahoma, and $4,385,549 for major repair and major alterations and improvements to schools and dormitories in the State. The following boarding schools and dormitories were included in the construction program: Chilocco, Concho, Fort Sill, Riverside, Seneca, Sequoyah, Jones Academy, and Carter Seminary. The expenditures by years were as follows:

Year	Construction	MR and MA and I	Year	Construction	MR and MA and I
1960		$170,519	1965	1,807,000	396,474
1961	$489,499	176,064	1966	3,936,226	485,948
1962	1,014,419	256,435	1967	88,115	472,601
1963	299,628	722,865	1968	4,503	551,729
1964	1,122,386	605,052	1969	15,407	547,862

These funds could not be used by the Bureau to construct high schools in Alaska since by agreement with the State, the Bureau is cooperating by not establishing additional Federal high schools in Alaska but by providing dormitories for native students attending State regional high schools. As mentioned earlier, a dormitory built with Federal funds is already in operation at Nome for students enrolled in the William E. Beltz School, another is due for completion at Kodiak this fall, and commitments have been made at Bethel, Fairbanks, Sitka, and perhaps other locations subject to the appropriation of funds.

Chilocco is the only Bureau school in Oklahoma which enrolls Alaskan students. The enrollment of 204 Alaskan students at Chilocco in the fall of the 1966–67 school year resulted from special efforts by the Bureau to locate space for as many as possible of 400 eighth-grade graduates who could not be accommodated at the time at the Mt. Edgecumbe School, Wrangell Institute, Chemawa, and William E. Beltz School at Nome.

We do not feel that the money expended for school construction or improvement in Oklahoma would perpetuate the practice of sending Alaskan Natives to schools outside their State. The most recent expenditures for construction purposes at Chilocco were made in 1964, 2 years before the 200 Alaskan students were enrolled in that school.

9. How do you select a site for construction? What are the criteria used? What priorities do you have on your construction program?

Our construction program is built in accordance with the following priorities which determine to some extent how the sites, the community or particular land area are selected:

1. replacement of unsafe, insanitary facilities.
2. construction of new or expansion of existing facilities to take care of out-of-school children.
3. replacement or expansion to relieve overcrowding in existing facilities
4. replacement of obsolete or substandard buildings.

The actual sites are dependent upon availability of land, school population, roads, and adequate water supply.

The requests are initiated at the reservation agency level in consultation with tribal representatives and other community members where relevant. The requests are then consolidated on an Areawide basis and finally on a Bureau-wide basis, and priorities assigned. It should be noted that before funding becomes available, the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress exercise their judgment on the requests.

10. What are the working guidelines followed by your school boards? What actual, meaningful powers do these boards have over the selection and retention of teachers and other personnel?

The broad guidelines and the powers and limitations of school boards have been discussed in the answer to question No. 1.

In order to carry out the intent of PROJECT TRIBE and to make meaningful the concept of community involvement, as directed by the President, a school board training program has been designed and implemented. It will provide basic education for all types of school boards (advisory boards to BIA schools, contracting boards, advisory boards to public schools, and elected Indian members of public school boards) under expert supervision, to prepare Indian people for the challenging task which confronts them.

One major contribution was a workshop initiated by the All-Indian Pueblo Council, Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the summer of 1968. Their *BIA School Board Handbook* has become a model guide for other Indian groups.

The National Indian Education Advisory Committee conducted a National Indian Workshop On School Affairs in Ogden, Utah, March 23–29, 1969. One of the chief concerns of the 168 Indian participants was with school board matters and reports indicate that interest was high. See material in Appendix E.

Other national as well as Area and local sessions are being planned.

11. What is the current size of the staff which works with public schools? How much does this fall short of your needs? What are your plans for strengthening? What do these people do? Do you share curriculum and materials, innovations with the public schools?

What is the current size of the staff which works with public schools?

Central Office—5; Area Office—2.

State Department of Education. A State director of Indian education in each of the 13 States where we have State contracts. In those states with a large Indian school population, the State directors usually have an assistant and the necessary clerical staff. In some States the directors also have other responsibilities which require much of their time.

How much does this fall short of need?

Four additional staff members are needed at our Area Office level, and our State directors of Indian education who now have other responsibilities need to be assigned to the Johnson-O'Malley Program full time.

What are your plans for strengthening?

Our 1971 budget request includes funds for filling two Area positions. The following year the remaining two positions have been budgeted. We are asking State departments of education to assign directors of Indian education full time to the Johnson-O'Malley Program.

What do these people do?

State directors of Indian education work with school districts and Indian people determining those projects that seem desirable in meeting the educational needs of Indian children, they review school budgets to determine need for funding and allocate funds available to the State. They promote workshops, inservice training sessions and conferences designed to help teachers and other school personnel better understand Indian people and to improve teaching of Indian children. These people also collect and compile data and serve as a clearing house for pertinent information relative to Indian education. Some are involved in administering Indian scholarship programs provided by their State.

Do you share curriculum materials and innovations with public schools?

This summer 250 public school employees, including teachers and administrators, will be involved in Bureau-sponsored workshops with BIA personnel to the mutual benefit of both groups.

The Bureau shares on a limited basis, materials and staff with public schools.

12. In regard to the Sherman Institute: we want a thorough description of what is now offered and what you propose for the future upgrading. What degrees are granted by Sherman?

Sherman Institute High School, located in Riverside, California, is an off-reservation boarding school for Indian youth from some 14 different tribes. The school is under the direct administrative jurisdiction of the Phoenix Area Office, Phoenix, Arizona.

Sherman was first situated at Perris Indian School, Perris, California in 1901. An elementary and industrial program was carried on at the beginning which later emerged into an accredited high school curriculum, culminating in a high school diploma. Today the school offers an intensive academic, practical arts, and vocational program continuing through the 12th grade. A complete course of study for the school year 1968–69 is attached.

The poor condition of facilities at Sherman is a limiting factor in upgrading the program. Many of the 51 buildings are in need of repair and/or are not suited to innovative practices. The condemning of eight academic buildings due to lack of concurrence with earthquake standards has caused part of the academic program to occupy space in the dormitories.

Hopeful that a request for construction funds for this school will meet success in fiscal year 1971, we are undertaking initial steps to develop educational specifications for the future operation of this school. Some of the major considerations involved in this process are:

(1) The development of Sherman as a general comprehensive high school. This consideration is based upon a review of the total systemwide projectable needs for secondary education.

(2) Cooperative involvement to the maximum feasible extent with the public schools of both Riverside and Arlington.

(3) The development of a program relationship with the State education agency.

(4) Maximum involvement of interested professional and lay personnel in the planning phase.

Included is a complete course of study for the school year 1968–69. Inasmuch as it is a high school, Sherman Institute does not grant degrees.

The 1968–69 Information Bulletin published by Sherman Institute High School is included in Appendix F.

GRADE LEVEL REQUIREMENTS

Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
English I (10 semester periods).	English II (10 semester periods).	English III (10 semester periods).	English IV (10 semester periods).
History of Western Civilization (10 semester periods).	World cultures (5 semester periods).	History of United States (10 semester periods).	American Government (5 semester periods).
General science (10 semester periods).	Driver education (5 semester periods).	Elective	Senior math (5 semester periods).
Mathematics (10 semester periods).	Elective	do.	Elective.
Practical arts I (10 semester periods).	Practical arts II (10 semester periods).	Physical education (5 semester periods).	Do.
Physical education (5 semester periods).	Physical education (5 semester periods).	Child care/or home nursing (girls) (10 semester periods).	Child care/home nursing (girls) (10 semester periods).

Note: Advanced practical arts I and II may be taken as electives in grade 10, 11, or 12 on approval of academic, vocational, and guidance department heads, not to exceed 30 semester periods per year.

Academic Electives:	*Grades*
Algebra I	9–12
Algebra II	10–12
Biology I	10–12
Biology II	11–12
Bookkeeping I	11–12
Chemistry	11–12
Dental Assistant	12
Geometry	10–12
Indian History	11–12
Journalism	11–12
Library Science	11–12
Mathematics Lab	10–12
Personal Psychology	11–12
Reading Lab	9–12
Recordkeeping	11–12
Sociology	11–12
Spanish I	11–12
Spanish II	11–12
Speech	10–12
Student Office Assist	12
Trigonometry	11–12
Typing I	10–12
Typing II	11–12

	Grades
Practical arts electives:	
Boys:	
Engineering Drawing	11–12
Family Living	12
Girls:	
Homemaking III	11
Homemaking IV	12
Family Living	12
Advanced practical arts electives:	
Commercial Baking I	11–12
Commercial Baking II	12
Institutional Cooking I	11–12
Institutional Cooking II	11–12
General Metals I	11–12
General Metals II	12
Mill and Cabinet I	11–12
Mill and Cabinet II	12
Nurse's Aide and Orderly	12
Painting I	11–12
Painting II	12
Music electives:	
Acappella Choir	9–12
Band I and II	9–12
Orchestra	9–12

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION IN CALIFORNIA

State requirements	Grade	Met by Shelman Institute
World history: History of western civilization (10 semester periods).	9	History of Westefn civilization (10 semester periods).
World cultures (5 semester periods)	10	World cultures (10 semestor periods).
American history, including California history (10 semester periods).	11	U.S. history (10 semester periods).
American Government, emphasizing principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence (5 semester periods).	12	American government (5 semester periods).
Alcohol and narcotics	9-12	Physical education, general science.
Manners and morals; citizenship	9-12	Social studies.
Physical education	9-12	Physical education (30 semester periods).
Fire-prevention instruction	10	Driver education, social studies, general science.
Driver education	10	Driver education (5 semester periods).
Public safety and accident prevention	10	Driver education, general science.
English (3 years) (30 semester periods)	9-12	English (4 years) (40 semester periods).
First-aid instruction	10	Practical arts, physical education.
Special observance of the flag of the United States	9-12	Social studies.

MEMORANDUM TO SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE FROM UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, RE INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL, PIERRE, S. DAK., AND FLANDREAU, S. DAK., JANUARY 17, 1969

SUMMARY

This report results from observations and data collection by a four-member Laboratory team which visited the Pierre Indian Boarding School, Dec. 10–11 and the Flandreau Indian School, Dec. 12–13, 1968. Because the Flandreau visit was cut short by blizzard conditions, the school was revisited December 16–17 by one member of the team.

Although the two schools are understood to have begun as educational institutions to serve children for whom local schools either were non-existent or were difficult to reach, their purpose has radically changed. At least 85 percent, and perhaps more, of the children are now referred to these schools for so-called "social reasons"—broken homes, asserted inability of parents to provide care, juvenile delinquency, etc.

Therefore the typical pupil is afflicted by a wide range of pressures. He may be at the school against his wishes, or suffer from insecurity accompanying family disintegration. He may bear the seeds of revolt against authority, or feel lonely and have no prospects of useful, satisfying life ahead.

In spite of this, the schools are staffed in a traditional pattern, with relatively few special pupil services. School psychologists, guidance counselors, special education specialists, welfare workers and the like are not available in these schools to the ratio that would appear warranted by the exceptional nature of the children.

Instructional staffs appear to equal other public schools staffs in the state in training and experience. This is not to say that school staffs generally are as good as they should be. Training, either pre-service or in-service, for the particular problems teachers face at these Indian boarding schools, is minimal or does not exist at all.

Instructional aides, as the dormitory staff personnel are called expected to act toward their charges as a parent or older sister, or uncle and to be generally supportive of their children's personal and educational growth. They fill one of the most difficult and sensitive roles in education, yet there appears to be no systematic plan for their training, professionalization, evaluation or recruitment. Their working hours are largely occupied by housekeeping duties, rather than aiding and supporting the children.

Decisions to send children to boarding schools are made at the local level and may well be one of the most vital effects upon his life that a child will ever encounter. Once in the boarding school system, he is not likely to leave it. The decision-making process by reservation school administrators, social workers, tribal councils, and the courts is worthy of determined study and analysis.

The effect of the educational process in these schools is uncertain and will continue to be unknown until a vigorous followup on graduates is undertaken and maintained, with adequate records and analysis. No decision to improve these schools can be reached until these facts are known. The schools should also be examined in depth to determine the relation of costs—plant and operating personal care, and instruction—to ascertain the expenditures for components of the school.

Despite the existance of "student councils" and "dormitory councils" the genuine involvement of pupils in their own governance was not apparant to the visiting team. Administrators have ample evidence of the unrest today that has spread from universities downward into the public schools and across national boundaries. It appears that ignoring community and student aspirations for some voice in self-regulation may create serious confrontations in the future.

The Laboratory team was headed by the director of a project aimed at developing better teaching preparation and classroom practices for Inner City schools, and included two professionals working on the development of similar preparation and practice for Indian schools. One of the latter a graduate of reservation schools, was able to establish good rapport with pupils.

However, the Laboratory acknowledges that its examination was too brief to become the basis of a really authoritative study. Children tend to give responses they think will please questioners and get them off their backs in the shortest possible time. Shadings of personal relations, strengths, and problem areas are not likely to be perceived in one or two days. The Laboratory understands that much data was gathered over a long term at Flandreau in preparation of what is known as the Krush report, referred to later in this document. It would be useful to examine that material.

PIERRE

The Indian Boarding School at Pierre has a normal capacity of 300 pupils in grades one to eight. At the time of the Laboratory visit, the count was 235 boys and girls, whose ages ranged from six to 16.

The school is situated just outside the town of Pierre, South Dakota's state capital, and close by the Missouri River. Buildings are generally well worn but clean and serviceable. Dormitories are fairly new. Grounds tend to be nondescript and provision for both outdoor and indoor recreation minimal. A $1.2 million building program has been authorized. Administrative offices were jammed awkwardly in a basement adjoining PE locker rooms. The cafeteria was roomy and had good light.

Pupils were orderly and generally exhibited a good natured and bright appearance and were friendly with each other. They lined up neatly at the cafeteria and there was no disturbance in halls. Behavior and appearance contrasted favorably with that of children in public schools familiar to the Laboratory team. However, no child interviewed by the visiting team could answer the simple inquiry: "What do you want to be when you grow up?"

Local decisions send children to schools

The action sending children to Pierre is a bureaucratic process, starting usually with the Reservation School principal, education specialist, or welfare worker. The "application" is reviewed in area offices at Aberdeen and sent on to Pierre authorities. The Laboratory understands that "applications" thus handled are rarely turned down by the school. "Social" reasons account for 95% of admittances. Trips home are arranged with difficulty, involving letters to and from parents with attendant bureaucratic delays.

The academic program at the school appears to be no better, no worse, than in public schools, but pupils come to school with low achievement records (averaging 2½ years behind national norms in most subjects) and no concerted effort is made to remedy this deficiency. Pierre is proud of its single course in Indian Culture and pupils expressed pleasure in the course. The Laboratory's own component on Indian Education advocates such courses, but believes they should be offered in all grades, rather than only the 7th and 8th, as is true at Pierre.

Twenty-five pupils' personnel records were examined in depth. Although the records were not as complete as they could have been, they showed only one pupil had herself initiated the admission procedure. Nearly all came from broken homes. The highest educational degree achieved was ninth grade, achieved by only one parent among the 50. Three pupils were raised in homes where only Indian languages were spoken. Five pupils of the 25 studied had run away from the school at some time. Runaways were required to write "explanations" for their act: nearly all said simply that they had been lonely.

Admission records

There is some irregularity in the admission process. For example, it was learned that application forms were not presented for 20 pupils at the start of the school and that after correspondence with the agencies, eight applications are still missing. Medical information sometimes does not accompany the application. If the child has moved frequently, the academic record is also incomplete and social summaries are outdated and too brief, particularly for pupils from Standing Rock and Rosebud. This information must be obtained at some effort, perhaps from the family. Some children have no legal guardian of record; others have tribal court-appointed guardians. (The states do not recognize the tribal courts.) Custody of 33 pupils was in doubt. The school is working at clearing these up. The single social worker commented that only two pupils definitely do not belong at Pierre, since they are failing academically, and sometimes run away, taking other children along, only to abandon them later.

There is no evidence of suicide attempts. Glue-sniffing is suspected but not proved. Very few relatives visit Pierre and the children maintain only meager contact with other agencies, including home reservations.

Town and school relations

Only minimal social relations exists with the community, despite attempts of the Episcopal Church, the Jaycettes, (who sponsored Brownie groups) and others. Mental health workers in Pierre felt the community was apathetic about the school and thought that few residents realized that children lived at the school the year around.

Other Government assistance

The Pierre office of the Division of Child Welfare said that the division is not always informed of children assigned to its custody by courts, and that a number of these were located "lost" in the Pierre records by the school's social worker. The DCW attempts to place children in foster homes in preference to boarding schools. With more staff, the division has been able to find more homes this year, and attempts to reserve the boarding schools for hard-to-place teenagers.

A Lutheran minister expressed concern for the school's isolation, and suggested that if the school were to continue, perhaps it should be as a boarding facility, allowing the children to attend public school in Pierre. He thought relationships would improve if the community could share school facilities, such as the gym, or youth groups used the dormitories in summer.

Prejudice is asserted by some Indian and white sources, and it is denied by other Indian and white sources. The public high school has no course in Indian culture, and the quiet Indian student tends to be ignored, although acceptance is gained by athletic prowess. The feeling of "being out of it" was offered by the minister as one reason that Indians seldom graduate from the Pierre school system.

The nonacademic care of young children

The vulnerability of the kind of "social" case composing the school population, and the critical nature of the growth and nurture generally at this age is well documented by scholars. Pierre appears insufficiently child-centered, and favors compliance with long established staffing patterns which may be well wide of the needs of the present. There is a feeling that matters operate more for the convenience of administration than for the children's welfare. Some of this apparent conveniecne may be required for fiscal or other good reasons, but it was observed that with several options available, the school often chose the one least compatible with the nature of the school population.

Example: a poster with the legend: "Litter, ugh! Keep um clean" displayed unnecessarily offensive pidgeon-talk. The two residence halls are named Kennedy and Pocohontas. Could not the halls been more appropriately named after great men and women of Indian history? Pocohontas, particularly stands for a time and a land a long way from the Dakotas, especially when one considers that Pierre School lies athwart the track taken by Lewis & Clark, and that expedition's debt to the woman Sacajawea.

A great deal of weight is placed upon personal cleanliness and grooming. Weekly counseling classes at night emphasibe cleanliness for both boys and girls. Adolescents are urged to use deodorant, which they must buy through the exchange of points earned by good behavior. Pupils said it took two weeks to earn 150 points for a bottle of deodorant. Toothpaste, hair dressing, toilet articles, panty hose, bras, etc. were obtained through the point exchange. A simple toy such as a "frisbee" required 500 points. Children were required to remove shoes in dormitories, and younger ones to wear bibs at the table.

It would appear that posters and announcements, prepared by the more artistic pupils, would be better for the dormitory bulletin boards than the paeans for the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation which were the only adornment there. They were not attractive and it is doubtful that any pupil ever read either of them all the way through. The visitor speculates why it is necessary that these children of the frontier grow up unexposed to animal life. One source remarked that the boarding schools in other days were allowed to raise a few livestock but that for some reason the practice was abandoned. At least a friendly dog or two would appear to be a not unbearable burden upon the staff. It is also to be wondered at why, with such an obvious need for recreation, the gym is not open on weekends. (Staff told the Laboratory it was; but this was contradicted by pupils.)

Although severe winters limit outside recreation, the dormitories muster only a couple of beat-up TV sets and handful of paperback books. The visitor is led to conjecture how much of a recreational library could be assembled from the funds required to send one staff member to an educational conference.

The hard-pressed instructional aides tried to provide a hobby session for groups of 15 pupils once a week. Kitchen supplies were readily available, but materials for model building, toy making, or sewing were provided at a cost to the aides.

Children were seated at table according to age and residence hall, which worked the apparent cruelty of keeping brothers and sisters apart. One child told an interviewer he could meet his sister only surreptiously and that they would be punished if caught.

Pupil involvement in nearby Pierre is largely limited to "town days" during which children can walk the streets and on occasion buy clothing under supervision. They are apparently allowed to go to occasional movies, but this requires that the child have some store of money. Many do not. Some effort is made by churches and civic organizations for parties and a limited amount of intermingling. The school policy discourages entertainment of pupils in faculty home. (Pierre police told the Laboratory children present no problem on these visits; the sheriff's office said its only concern was the checking on runaways, which were most frequent early in the school year and which sometimes involved car theft).

Attendance at town church service was compulsory. Pupils said they were disciplined for attempts to evade it. The stated school policy disavows corporal punishement although some personnel told the Laboratory younger pupils were spanked during their introduction to school to show them how to shape up. Six boys said they believed that classroom teachers informed matrons or instructional aides of trouble makers and that 'they really got it" in the dormitories. (These reports were not substantiated).

Training, selection of key personnel

Staff people closest to the pupils are the instructional aides who preside in the dormitories. One psychiatrist with great experience in Indian schools believes the ratio of aides to pupils ought to be one to 15. At Pierre it is one to 60.

The aides represent a unique job in education. They are supposed to be parent, uncle, aunt, elder brother or sister, chum, counselor, bookkeeper, drillmaster and heaven knows what else to their children. They live in the dorms in direct contact with their charges (who usually are four to a room). The Laboratory understands all are of Indian blood, and at least some are graduates of the very school in which they serve.

There apparently is no conceptualized statement of what these people should be or how trained. A high school diploma is the only educational qualification. Some have had some additional college but the amount and quality of this preparation was obscure to the Laboratory team. Perhaps there is no easy way to judge the effectiveness of such paragons, but it appears that it would be a good thing to attempt to set up some guidelines. It is doubtful that any systematic understanding of exactly what these aides are required to do and what is the best way to train them exists. Their ostensible role is one of guide and mentor. Actually, they spend most of their time cleaning floors, counting linen, and other maintenance chores.

The casual preparation of aides is typical elsewhere in the school. The Laboratory learned of no required preparation for the specialized job of teaching in an Indian boarding school with an extreme ratio of pupils admitted for "social" reasons. Nor was there any serious in-service program of training followed. One Laboratory visitor was perplexed by the comment of a young teacher who said she "would not want to be biased" by any advance training for her job. Only one teacher was of Indian blood.

A social worker has been added to the staff this year. The Laboratory regards this as valuable but inadequate in view of the range of personal problems already described. A consulting psychiatrist was employed for a limited number of days in other years, but apparently this practice has ended because the school is too far away for him. The whole area of mental health of the pupils appears to lack a vigorous and sustained effort on the part of the school.

Performance analysis

Pierre is lacking in the systematic collection and use of pupil information. There is no followup on children who leave the school, except an inadequate one conducted through the personal enterprise of a teacher. This is praiseworthy but the product is entirely too crude to serve as a basis for decision making. Considerable information exists in the school's records, but the Laboratory could not see that use was made of it. Data collection and organization are a must in any school to understand the nature of the pupil population and the effect of the school's program.

The Laboratory examined budget categories but was unable to extract from the BIA-prescribed forms the kind of fiscal knowledge that would lead to an analysis of each part of the school's operation and the costs of the various components. Again, the Laboratory notes the prospective investment of $1.2 million in the school plan. More knowledge of the nature of the children, the educational process, and the cost-effectiveness of the present and optional ways of operating the school would appear to be vital to the wise investment of new money especially in the design of the plant and the staffing pattern for running it.

FLANDREAU

Flandreau Indian School, a high school accommodating 600 pupils, is pleasantly situated on gently sloping, wooded hills near the town of Flandreau in eastern South Dakota. It has a long history, having originated as a private missionary school in the 1800's. For the most of its history, it has been a vocational school, but owing to BIA policy decisions in the recent past it was remodeled as an academic school. Some shop is still offered in the older buildings, as well as home economics. The main instructional offices and the dormitories are quite new and the general aspect of the school is most favorable, comparing with the best public high schools. Pupils are cleanly and neatly dressed and while they are not in uniform, the variations usual to current high school youth are not evident. Pupils are also orderly in hallways and wherever observed on the grounds. This is not surprising, since nearly all of them were prepared for Flandreau in another

Indian school, such as Pierre, where neatness and orderly behavior are stressed, and at least outwardly followed.

The administration records indicate a current 500 ADA, with an annual dropout rate of 15–18 percent. There appears to be no follow-up on those who drop out. The teacher turnover is described as a low two or three persons a year. Salaries are competitive or better than in South Dakota public schools, although the staff is required to work a full year. (About 100 pupils remain over the summer, having no other home.) The annual budget approximates $1 million, not including health service.

The school population

Children are admitted here for exactly the same reasons they are taken in at Pierre. Homes are broken, the mother (or father) has disappeared or is regarded as incompetent by courts, social workers, or tribal authority, or the child is the ward of a court or the tribal council. Grades are in general quite bad and achievement is averaging 2½ years behind the national norms. According to scanty records (followup studies of Flandreau graduates is just beginning) some 12 percent of last June's graduating class went on to higher education. In view of the fact that under the most favorable family socio-economic conditions, half of college entrants fail to graduate, the insistance on academic preparation is puzzling. (Of students interviewed by the Laboratory, only two disclosed ambitions that involved higher education; the others aspired to "blue collar" jobs.)

The background, ages, and restricted lives of these children would appear to make them subject to the common anti-social behavior of teenagers everywhere. Conferences with civic authorities in Flandreau and reference to pupil personnel files indicated that this condition existed but that it's probably no worse than in "normal" school communities. Some glue sniffing, ingestion of substitutes for hard liquor (it is apparently unavailable, so resort is made to lemon extract, hair tonic, etc.). The school appears to be sitting on a terribly combustionable situation in the proximity of boys and girls at an age of maximum sexual drive without the presence of guidance and support of adult relatives. (Aspects of the mental health problem at this and other Indian boarding schools are the subject of study by the late Thaddeaus P. Krush, M.D., who, with others, produced the paper on the subject published in the February, 1966 issue of *Journal of American Psychiatry*).

The objectives at Flandreau

The statement of purpose appearing in a handbook published by the school described it as the preparation of "young Indian boys and girls for post high school training and to participate in tne social and economic life of the nation." This was further defined by the superintendent as an effort to provide college preparation for some, preparation for a trade for others, a way to organization for life to others, and to "meet the physical disability" of still others. Laboratory visitors encountered a certain amount of ambivalence from the faculty in this area matter of school objectives. It appears, however, that the primary emphasis is indeed, academic.

Effort to be "normal"

The Flandreau students have many of the same physical supports of public high schools. There is a school newspaper, enthusiastically if inexpertly produced, which is burdened with the same editorial problems of school papers generally—too much official news and bad pictures of adults instead of content originated by pupils which they can identify with. The school has had a successful athletic history, attested by the overpowering display of trophies in the main ball, and a lesser history in other curricular affairs, notably group singing, in which many state fair trophies were collected. The Laboratory was told of a Rodeo Club, which sounds most hopeful, but has no information on details.

A student government and dormitory councils exist. The administration describes them as having a good deal of autonomy and among other things, as helping with the "drinking problem". Students themselves admit to no such autonomy and claim they don't really know what are the limits of their authority. A new principal said however that efforts to obtain more student involvement are under way. The regulations for operations of the Dormitory Council are of a complexity sufficient to baffle a Philadelphia lawyer.

The children of any small town, very small town, have vastly more opportunities for recreation than the Indians of Flandreau. The library, for one thing, in such an institution ought to be exemplary. Flandreau's is superb in comparison with whatever exists at Pierre, but it is grossly insufficient in recreational reading material. Very little fiction is available. The magazine section in contrast is quite varied, including such publications as Hot Rod, Field and Stream, and Cosmopolitan, as well as the solids such as Current History and U.S. News and World Report.

Relations with community

FIS cannot really be said to be part of the community, although many of the faculty live in the town and there is a very modest employment of the pupils in Flandreau cafes. Church organizations help in a few placements. Student opportunity to earn money is very thin, a matter of some concern when the fact is considered that if pupils are to visit home as at Christmas time, they must pay their fare.

Guidance counseling and associated activity

For the first time FIS is seriously trying to learn what happens to alumni. A counselor provided through ESEA Title I funds has obtained information from reservation agents on 85 of its 96 graduates of last June. She learned that 12 are in college, 17 in vocational school, and 31 are unemployed. Student testing has led the school into homogeneous grouping according to ability resulting in six groupings or tracks in all the subjects in the 9th grade. So large a number of tracks is unusual in current instructional practice.

The Guidance Office was able to provide considerable test information about pupils. The Iowa Test of Educational Development, administered to the incoming freshmen, disclosed the average to be about 2½ years below grade level, and to test in the lowest quartile. The test administered to 11th graders produced slightly lower scores. (See Flandreau Indian School, memorandum dates Nov. 1, 1968, ITED Test Results, attached.)

The Laboratory team's impression is that career counseling is insufficiently stressed. Bulletin boards in the main academic building carry a few flyers about jobs—all U.S. civil service and nothing about the possibilities in private commerce and industry. A business methods teacher, asked about job possibilities for graduates, answered only that some inquiries were received from tribal councils and Haskell. The machine shop instructor appeared to be enthusiastic but said he provided only basic skills. The shop appeared to lack modern machinery which an apprentice in private industry would be expected to operate. The picture was somewhat better in welding: several new machines were acquired as a gift and the instructor was confident of his students' ability to succeed on the job.

Flandreau's home economics department, specializing in job training of waitresses and male food handlers, impressed the team. Some students were able to get a little work in Flandreau and plans are understood to be afoot for more extended on the job training in Sioux Falls, 40 miles away. A small but attractive "tea room" provided a well prepared, nicely served lunch. However, one visitor reported that his waitress had difficulty in computing change for less than $1, and an adult cook said that his student help "couldn't read well enough to distinguish a can of peaches from pears."

Random inspections of the buildings and discussions with staff produced such comments as a belief (expressed be the new principal) that the greatest need is a student activities building, which for one thing would help improve boy-girl relationships. Much sympathy was expressed from industrial arts and home economics departments for the short-range needs of students. After-hours help is given students who want to work in those departments.

A Lutheran social service worker and a Brother from Blue Cloud Abbey spoke of their difficulty in finding jobs for students. They were able to place only five last summer. Students are sometimes taken to the Abbey for group retreats. A remedial education specialist felt that students need remedial help in every aspect of the curriculum. (The home economics department felt that more work with the academic department was needed to upgrade course material; the chemistry curriculum was said to be insufficient to prepare students for advanced training in nursing and home etc.).

In review, Flandreau, as Pierre, appears to be operated solely by educators for students referred to the school by social workers. Children are removed from the scene of their problems, in the way orphanages and state mental hospitals traditionally operated. (Practices which lately are being abandoned in the light of current social and psychiatric thinking.)

Further, it is a common understanding of those who deal with admissions practices such as those prevailing at these schools, that just enough damaging evidence is presented to support removal of the child from the home community, but not enough to prejudice acceptance at the school. If the child fails, he is processed back to the home or to another boarding school, training school, public school, state hospital, or is lost completely.

We do not know what stress is created in the child by removing him a great distance from his home but suspect it is severe. Reappraisals appear in order concerning the philosophy of these schools. If they are to assist in the acculturation of the Indian youth, there appears to be a need for vigorous advancement of relations with their surrounding community. If they are supposed to return children to the reservation, ties between the school and the latter need development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

An examination of such a lively organism as a school conducted over a few days or a few hours is too little for a really authoritative report. Yet it was long enough to stimulate some thinking about what could be done at Flandreau and Pierre. A magnificent opportunity exists here to make these schools outstanding and thus to feed back into the nation rich human resources now squandered through inattention of adults and frustration of the children.

1. The objectives for the schools should be reviewed and a determination made whether they are to be purely educational institutions for all young Indians or if they are to be, as they essentially are now, orphanages and custodial and remedial agencies.

2. As a corollary of Recommendation One, the forces acting at a local level to place children in these schools should be examined to ascertain if families, children, the law, and the state are served to the maximum possible good.

3. Staffing patterns should be adjusted to needs of the pupils. If the schools continue to be operated for children in trouble of one kind or another, the proportion of education specialists capable of remedial instruction, social welfare, guidance, counseling, analysis, and recreation should be sharply stepped up. These services are vitally needed now and there is probably no circumstance of redefinement of the schools' mission which should not include at least a modest increase in these kinds of personnel. If schools assume a parental role and provide a home, they should be vastly more concerned for the hours of pupils outside the classroom—in recreation, games, entertainment, work, study, and personal growth.

4. Pre-service and in-service preparation of teachers must be organized and pushed. It is not humane nor efficient to allow teachers to learn their profession by practicing on the defenseless. The preparation and development of instructional aides and matrons is a matter of high priority for the study of ways and means to do it.

5. Many more job opportunities should exist for children and it is not sure that this would cost more. Much of the groundskeeping, plant upkeep, cleaning, painting, and minor repair, as well as food service, laundry, etc. could be done by children with some training and supervision. Is it utterly impracticable that children raise livestock and some food products? Such gainful work would go far to raise self-esteem, line pockets, and occupy vacant hours. Study of the kibbutzim of Israel might suggest ways to effect this kind of change.

6. A system for collection and organization of pupil information affecting the child's performance before, during, and after his experience in the boarding school should be established. Modern school administration practice is based on such data.

7. Application of modern program budgeting and cost effectiveness analysis would provide management tools for more efficient operation of the schools. No illusions about total costs being held down or reduced should be entertained, however. Education economists are predicting that public resources allocated to schools will double or triple in the next decade if the schools are to meet demands against them.

It is not likely that Indian boarding schools are any different. If graduates are to leave the system with a fair chance of succeeding in the technological world of the next few decades, they must be prepared.

Prudent increases of investment in these children will bring substantial gains. Dangerous losses are in prospect however, if their preparation does not meet the demands of the times they face.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD, FROM JOHN BJORK, ASSISTANT CHIEF, AREA SOCIAL SERVICE BRANCH, PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, RE TRIP REPORT, FLANDREAU INDIAN SCHOOL, DECEMBER 12, 16, AND 17, 1968

Purpose: To participate with study team evaluating boarding schools at Pierre and Flandreau.

Contacts: Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory staff described in Pierre trip report; Adrian Parmeter, Chief staff person for Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education; B. B. Warner, Superintendent, J. Glenn Sorensen, Principal, Procopia A. Lee, Secretary, Mr. D. J. McDowell, Administrative Assistant, Owen A. Citrowske, Academic Department Head, Virginia R. Sneve, Education Counselor, Bernice H. Jones, Remedial Supervisor, Thomas J. Mullin, Industrial Arts Department Head, Vera R. Smith, Home Economics Department Head, Arthur Jenkins, Dining Hall, George L. Allen, Instructional Aide-Crafts, Sally A. Wosika, Recreation and Crafts—all Flandreau Indian School staff; Dorothy Dierks, PHS School Nurse; Robert Franz, PHS Mental Health Consultant; Brother Anthony G. Firman, Blue Cloud Abbey; Jack Little, Lutheran Social Services; Judge Benedict, Moody County.

Discussion: Because of poor weather our visit to Flandreau on the 12th was shortened to less than a full day and we were not able to return on the 13th as planned. I talked briefly by telephone with Mr. Parmeter in Huron that evening, and Mr. Petrefeso and I returned to the school on the 16th and 17th.

The group, with the exception of Mr. Parmeter who arrived later, met initially with Mr. Warner. In response to our inquiry about the goals of the school, he stated that they sought: (1) to provide a structured living experience for the students; (2) to help them learn to get along in either white or reservation society; (3) to provide a "regular" high school experience, including college preparatory and vocational training; and (4) to provide schooling for physically handicapped children. (The latter objective was later clarified to mean students with correctible visual or hearing handicaps.) Mr. Warner briefly described a reorganization of the school, actually still in the "paper" stage, designed to give greater emphasis to guidance services.

We had an extended conference with Mr. Sorenson. Mr. Sorensen had arrived at the start of the school year and we asked for his opinion about the relationship which existed between the school and town. He thought it ranged from good to bad to indifferent. Since bad came to mind first, he suggested that shoplifting by students created the most negative effect. He believes the school has finally "got on top" of the problem of drinking. There are never more than one or two "plastered" at a time now, and this was true even following a blizzard. He believes drinking is a more school-centered problem than shop-lifting. The school now places students as waitresses in local cafes under close supervision. The program, similar to distributive education, is an extension of the School Tea Room operation and involves 8 or 10 students at a time in about 4 local cafes. The school has also considered establishing a group of boys and girls in an apartment in Sioux Falls where they would live and work for two or three-week periods. He believes there have been fewer opportunities for boys partly because boys care less about getting out in the community and partly because there is a hoodlum-stereotype about the boys at the school which reduces the number of opportunities for them. The stereotype is true for only a small minority and Mr. Sorensen plans to work at eliminating any basis for it. The only summer placement program has been under social work auspices; the school does not place students in summer activities and I believe the implication was that it had no desire to do so. He stated students did not go downtown to work. "The school is not really a part of the community—we have to face that." He believes some of the townspeople are aware of the economic value of the school to the community. He mentioned the jurisdiction problem but stated that he thought that there would be a greater willingness on the part of the newly elected judge to accept more responsibility in relation to the school. He described the police as "typical, small-town police—incompetent. We do not confront these guys." He reiterated the idea that the school would overcome the drinking problem and that this would help. Questioned more closely, he expressed his faith in getting the student council to function and to deal with the problem. They are now meeting during school hours and are more involved with school staff, particularly Mr. Klapperich, Dean of Men.

"Foul-ups" must meet before the dorm council. Mr. Sorensen believes the students need much support and he believes in working closely with the student council to achieve this goal. He stated that his major efforts have been in the dormitory area because the students spend 18 hours of their day there and that is where the non-professional, sometimes "incompetent, screwed-up" staff are. The students arrive with a pattern of roaming all night and they are expected to conform to our orderly life here; consequently, he has emphasized developing things for them to do, e.g., intramural sports, crafts, recreation room, dancing. The most-needed building at the school is a student activities building. Such a building would help improve boy-girl relationships. He does not believe the school ready for coeducational dormitories, however. He cited poor communications as the biggest problem, both within the school and between school and reservation. He was upset when a student did not know who he was; since then he has called impromptu assemblies to work at this problem.

We inquired about the follow-up of students. Mr. Sorensen replied that a study of the 96 graduates of 1968 had been completed by Mrs. Sneve, the first such study attempted for six or seven years. The study was accomplished by writing to the agencies for information. All but one responded and this was later followed up. Findings indicate that 37% of the students followed through with plans they made at the end of their senior year. Nine students had enrolled in college. The next phase of the study will be the mailing of a brief questionnaire to these graduates, intended to help the school evaluate its program. Mrs. Sneve is in a position to talk to students under normal circumstances, unlike Mr. Sorensen, who states he only sees the extremes of council members or students returning home. She also talks with both boys and girls. Mr. Sorensen believes the schism which has existed between boys and girls departments will be lessened when Mrs. Anderson's job is filled and she is able to assume her new role as director of all counseling services.

We asked about in-service training and staff-turnover. Mr. Sorsensen commented that teacher turnover is pitifully small. "We have done nothing about inservice training; for example, 80% of the teachers lecture to their students." He has used quarterly budget reports to establish rapport with teachers and to involve them in the planning process. He believes the area education director and Mr. Warner both favor more such involvement. He described the school as a self-contained unit. Teachers have access to all student records; if they are concerned about a student's background, they will seek information. The same is true for dormitory staff. He sees changes in the divisions between teacher and dorm staff, boys and girls building staff. He believes teachers now visit dorms and instructional aides visit classes. The student council was given the responsibility to plan a two-day holiday they requested and they, in turn, sought and received the cooperation of school staff to make their plans work.

In response to our inquiry about the goals of the school, Mr. Sorensen replied that while there has been lots of talk about goals, he is not sure that anyone knows or agrees about them. To the agency social worker and superintendent, Flandreau is a dumping ground. A frequent agency response to the return of a student is "Can't you keep those kids down there?" First of all, Sorensen says, Flandreau is not a penal institution, not a school for hoodlums. It is an educational institution, a *school*, the best in the BIA, a school for those who can't get their schooling at home. Most Flandreau students would be out of school if they were not attending Flandreau. So, primarily "it is a school; the meals and beds are incidental. Someone needs to redefine the purpose of the boarding school. We are not vocational, but pre-vocational. Students now come for social reasons, but the staff hasn't changed one bit to meet the social reasons." He cited the need for social, psychological and psychiatric services. "We talk social problems yet respond in an academic manner. We talk symptoms and ignore causes."

As to the course on culture, Mr. Sorensen pointed out that it was experimental. Apparently little consultation has been received: "Dr. Byrd breezed in and out once." The way it is being taught (primarily lecture method) is not what we want. Students know more about this than staff and should be more involved. The teacher trained in Dr. Bryd's method is a poor teacher. It would be better to have a teacher who was interested in getting kids to participate whether or not he knew anything about Indians. The teacher is a non-Indian whose wife is Sioux. He noted that while many teachers have taught on reservations and so have some knowledge about reservations, it was also possible for some people to teach there for 30 years and still not know anything about Indians.

We interviewed Mrs. Virginia Sneve, Education Counselor, and inquired about goals. She thought it was "hard to know." The school was supposedly chiefly interested in education, but she found mental health factors of primary importance. In reviewing GATB scores with seniors, she has found them terribly concerned about leaving school. So many times they act out their feelings of inadequacy in antisocial behavior. We haven't prepared them for graduation. She is not concerned with vocational guidance since the school does not offer terminal training. Mrs. Sneve reported that she works closely with the dormitories. The main reasons for "drop-ins" for counseling are problems about getting along with others, especially among freshmen and sophomores. Referrals by teachers are strongly influenced by their experience in the classroom. Depending on her evaluation of the teacher, Mrs. Sneve encourages a teacher to read a child's record or merely to discuss the child's background with her. She prefers to think of dropouts as transfers although she seems quite aware that students may not enter another school system after leaving Flandreau. We asked Mrs. Sneve about the PHS consultants, and she seemed familiar with the program. She felt the in-service training (case conferences) offered dorm staff were good but she also would like to see a similar project instituted for the academic department.

Although the nurse is often unable to attend these conferences, she has found her to be very helpful. There is a need for more guidance counseling, more group therapy. None of the staff is well trained for the latter. She agreed that sensitivity training might be helpful for new teachers. She is going to try to work with a group of seniors experiencing separation anxiety. Last year there were nine seniors who were life-long products of BIA boarding schools and they could not make up their minds about their future plans. She believes the students need to be given more responsibility in every area. Finally, we questioned Mrs. Sneve about community relationships. Mr. Sneve is a welding teacher at the school. The Sneves have had 8 moves in 14 years and have found Flandreau the most difficult place to make friends.

We talked with Mr. Mullin who teaches one class and supervises the Industrial Arts Department. At the outset he gave us a brief account of an inservice training workshop he had attended last summer in Flagstaff, Arizona, for BIA, OEO and public school administration staff. His children participated in a three-week workshop being held for BIA guidance and instructional aide staff. The latter workshop involved both Indian and non-Indian children and apparently made use of behavior modification theory.

Mr. Mullin stated that the school badly needed vocational training. Industrial Arts is pre-vocational but he did not believe many of their students went on for further training. In addition, he believes they lose freshmen who might stay if they were permitted to take vocational training. He understands that the industrial arts policy was set in Washington and Aberdeen and that one of the premises for it is that vocational training is now readily available at the reservations. Miss Mitchell, the Aberdeen consultant, visits the school about two times each year. It appears to Mr. Mullin that the school is becoming more and more academically oriented and he blames himself for not resisting the 40 minute modes which have proved too short. Mr. Mullin and his staff are of the opinion that the school should emphasize vocational training, and "we're doing it in fact." Although staff has not polled students about their wishes, teachers are available from 4 to 5 each afternoon and in some cases the students are spending more time in the shops than they did the previous year when classes were an hour long. The Machine Shop and Wood Shop may have as many as 17 students in these late afternoon sessions. Students progress at their own rates and take tests when they feel they are ready. There are 158 students enrolled in six shops. Of the upper classmen who do not take shop, half can't because they've failed required courses and half don't want shop courses. This is the first year that freshmen have not been rotated through all the shops. The change was made because some of the shops were thought too difficult for freshmen. Mr. Mullin admitted that some of the training was being given with obsolete equipment.

The school still receives project requests from the local community, but students are no longer trained to build a garage, etc. Requests for recommendations for workers still come from reservations, and Mr. Mullin recommends students largely on the basis of work habits, along with whatever training and skills they may have acquired. Mr. Mullin says he makes a daily visit to each shop and visits the boys dormitory frequently.

Mr. Citrowske spoke about the in-service training program which involved universities in Arizona, Washington, and South Dakota. He stated that administrative department heads, teachers and dorm staff were forced to go and a great deal of money was spent. It is the same workshop series, I believe, which Mr. Mullin described, for which Mr. Vance had visited the southwest recently, and for which Mr. Klapperich had attended an evaluation session in Pierre during the latter part of the week of December 8. During the summer of 1968 a Special Education Workshop for BIA personnel from several areas was held at Jamestown, North Dakota. The latter workshop was conducted in cooperation with AVCO Economic Systems Corporation.

Mr. Citrowske suggested the following as the goal (philosophy) of the school: "to help the students make the transition to the mainstream as easy as possible. We can't divorce them from their culture so we have a class about culture. Those who lean toward assimilation are put in accelerated groups. The curriculum is not terribly unlike a public school curriculum." We asked Mr. Citrowske about gaps which he was aware of between theory and practice. He believed that more effort should be focused on the early years rather than at such a late stage as Flandreau. The education and economics of the family should receive attention. Attitudes gained from the extended-family, pow-wows, etc., about "lazy government workers" have more effect on the children than day schools can correct and these cannot be changed at a later level. Welfare has run rampant in just giving money away; human beings will take the easy way out. Mr. Citrowske denied being a "big thinker or innovator." He felt the Flandreau School was doing a good enough job now and only needed a little money to buy textbooks, etc. He believes we should quit such bureaucratic monsters as OEO and the Jobs Corps. Indian people will get the money back one way or another.

Mr. Citrowske reported that he has to stimulate his staff to be aware of the differences of these kids. He cited the example of his two senior English teachers, one new and one with several years of experience at Flandreau. The experienced teacher would extend periods of work commitment for students, the younger teacher would not. Through in-service training, Mr. Citrowske helped the new teacher to see that the real goal was to help the student meet the commitment even at the cost of a few extra days. She could take part of the grade off but not eliminate the grade completely. There was brief discussion of the Indian's value orientation to time, but I am not clear whether he related it to the discussion of early impressions or not. He did say they dealt with greater (more important) things in the culture course than time orientation. The course is designed to give them something "they can look up to their culture about. We can't lambaste them with 'your old man's a drunk and that's why you're a bastard'; we'd lose them that way."

Mrs. Vera Smith described several new programs instituted by the Home Economics department which are designed to be of immediate, practical significance for students. Almost the entire home economics staff was interested and participated in the summer placement activities begun by the Flandreau mental health project. The staff was especially alert and receptive to finding ways to help students cope with problems of acculturation they found during their summer placements in homes in communities near Flandreau. The current programs reveal innovative techniques to help in these areas while, at the same time, they help students to live more productive lives on the reservation. One senses a sympathetic feeling for the short range education needs of students, similar to that found in Industrial Arts. At the same time there is support for working with the academic department to development course material at a more advanced level; for example, the chemistry curriculum is not adequate to prepare students for advanced training in nursing or home economics. In addition to such traditional classes as home nursing, foods, and sewing, the Home Economics Department supervises the students in the cafe work in the community. While this training is not looked upon as "terminal," the department does not discount the importance of such training to students who may use it to advantage at some point in their lives. The department supervises the dining hall, including Mr. Arthur Jenkins, the retired Army Cook instructor who is in charge. They are justifiably proud of the training program going on there for a class of boys. (A visit to the class revealed an industrious, interested group. Mr. Jenkins knows of a few ex-students who are doing well in military foods operations as some graduates have written or visited him at the school. He was concerned about non-reading students nearing graduation; sent to the cellar for a can of peas, they might return with fruit cocktail.) The Homemakers Assistant course places girls in Flandreau homes to work, along with the wife, for two-hour periods. The wife must be with the student at all times, teaching home living and management. Girls help prepare meals, answer the phone, participate in child care. The girls are graded by the women but, perhaps more important they also "grade the home." In class, the students share their experiences and there is a critique of home management and family living practices.

We conferred with Robert Franz, social worker at Brookings Area Guidance Center, with whom PHS has a contract for consulation services. Either Mr. Franz or his supervisor, Mr. Koep, social worker and director of the agency, visit Flandreau school once each week. Mr. Franz generally sees students while Mr. Koep provides program consultation to staff. Mr. Franz was aware of discrepancies between information given him by students and information contained in social summaries. He cited a local news article which quoted Mr. Warner as stating the school children came from the same kinds of families which existed in Flandreau, but we were unable to locate the article. (Mr. Franz believes the article may have been an attempt to reassure the local population that the school was not filled with disturbed youngsters or hoodlums, following some school-community problem. In his two years of consultation at the school, Mr. Franz has only seen Mr. Warner two or three times and then the topic of conversation was the weather.) When Mr. Franz believes students need psychological testing or psychiatric evaluation, he arranges for this at the center in Brookings. Currently, Mr. Koep is active in helping the school work with the South Dakota State University in Brookings to develop an expanded pupil personnel service for the school which will be financed by BIA funds or through a grant from another agency.

We talked briefly with Brother Anthony and Mr. Little. They had shown a film during the evening on a human relations subject. The two work together on a student placement project. Apparently there are many problems, and only five students were placed during the past summer. Effort is made to help students and families maintain relations during the school year. The project was financed by the Children's Bureau and it is my understanding that money has been appropriated for F.Y. 1969. Brother Anthony is also supported, in part, by the Catholic Church, and his home base is Blue Cloud Abbey in South Dakota. Students are taken in groups to the Abbey for retreats and apparently this is a popular activity. Brother Anthony works with the boys, through the boys guidance department. A Catholic priest from a nearby parish counsels girls at the school.

We visited with Mrs. Bernice Jones who is in charge of remedial education. Mrs. Jones appears to be very much interested in her work. She feels strongly about the much-too-small program which the school supports. Remedial reading and arithmetic are available to freshmen and sophomores (although I believe not all of the latter are included) through the efforts of Mrs. Jones, and one full-time and one part-time teacher. Mrs. Jones believes the students need remedial help in every aspect of the curriculum. She is outspoken about the lack of both support and understanding she receives from Mr. Citrowske in contrast to her previous supervisor.

We discussed the arts and crafts program with Mr. Allen and Mrs. Wosika. Although I saw both activity rooms, only the girls were using this facility at the time of our visit. This program is a very important addition to the school, one which had been recommended by the Flandreau project in the 1950's. It has been staffed only recently and, according to Mr. Allen, securing funds for equipment and supplies for ceramics, leather tooling, etc., is still a major problem.

We were referred to Mr. McDowell for information about orientation of new staff. Mr. McDowell gave us copies of BIA memorandums which refer to orientation, and he discussed the plan he instituted at Flandreau to ensure getting the information to staff. Essentially, the information is concerned with civil service employment practices, and it is our impression that no attempt is made to orient teachers to the special needs of the students in their care. Mrs. Procopia Lee described the student record system and supplied us with copies of various kinds of information about the school. Mrs. Lee is an exceptionally competent person who attempts to keep track of students and their records in a system which contributes to making the task difficult. The problems in getting accurate information are similar to those described for Pierre.

We visited the student council meeting, Mr. Citrowske, staff advisor to the council, arrived at the end of the meeting and asked the group whether they had acted on a disciplinary problem which had been referred to them. The students had decided against taking action and there was no further discussion. It was my feeling that the staff person assigned to student council should have attended the meeting to spark discussion. The matter of student council power (to initiate as well as receive assignments) is probably a difficult one to handle, but it is not helped by lack of communication with staff. The student in charge of the meeting reported that Mr. Sorensen had contacted him directly and the implication was that Mr. Sorenson planned a more active role for the council. It was left to the council to plan a special meeting with Mr. Sorensen, and the group agreed on a time, apparently again by-passing Mr. Citrowske. We talked with the group about the culture course. As was true at Pierre, the students were under the impression that the instructor was Indian, though he is not. Although the students like the idea of the course there was dissatisfaction with the method of teaching (lecture) which has been used by the instructors assigned to the course in the two years it has been taught.

In a briefing session with Mr. Parmeter, the group learned that comparable studies of Indian boarding schools are being conducted throughout the country. It was my understanding that this committee is concerned that Indian education has not been as responsive to change as would be desirable and that the committee believes certain changes in organizational structure, which are under consideration, might be a solution to the rigidity which dominates the system. At Flandreau, for example, he was interested in any evidence of change which had followed the Flandreau Project.

Conclusions: A five-day review of selected aspects of the boarding school programs at Pierre and Flandreau has produced both positive and negative impressions. Staff and community contacts, without exception, were friendly and cooperative. Personnel generally, in whatever their capacity, seemed interested in doing a good job of helping the children and youth in their care. The foregoing report provides numerous examples of staff involvement to substantiate such findings.

On the other hand, this review also reveals that basic defects exist in the system which seriously impair the best efforts of the best staff. At the risk of oversimplification, there appear to be two related problems: the amount of confusion permitted to exist around the purpose for which these schools exist, and the consequent inability of anyone to develop an adequate program under these circumstances.

The changing role of the school was documented by the Flandreau Mental Health Project as early as 1957. In 1959 the same project pointed out that the school population could be grouped into seven relatively distinct categories, each requiring a separate and special program. By 1965 the project had demonstrated that the students had more psychological pathology than a comparable Minnesota normative sample. The percentage of students coming for social reasons has risen to a current high of 90 percent.

What's been done to cope with this changing use of boarding schools which were opened, originally, to separate children from parents and thus speed the acculturation process? The BIA Branch of Education has been elevated to Division status. Both schools have increased their staff and budget through the years, particularly in the guidance area. Title I funds have been used in some instances to better the staff-student ratio. Plans for a much expanded pupil personnel service are being discussed, at least at Flandreau. Social service and related professionals are said to have a high priority for funding.

What remains problematic? The schools are operated solely by educators for students referred, in the main, by social workers. The schools accept, knowingly, a wide variety of complex social, psychological, educational, and cultural disorders. Social workers and educators "use" the outmoded idea that sending people far from the scene of their social and emotional problems will somehow, almost miraculously, solve the problems. (The demise, years ago, of orphanages and, more recently, large isolated state mental hospitals, attest to the abandonment of this theory in social and psychiatric thinking.) Further, it is commonly acknowledged by BIA social workers and educators alike that when social histories are written, the sophisticated referral includes just enough damaging evidence to "justify" removal of the child from his home community, but not enough to preclude his acceptance at the school. The school is, indeed, a dumping ground. Should the adjustment process prove too difficult for school or student, he is returned home or passed along to another boarding school, day school, public school, training school, state hospital, or lost completely. For the student, the psychosocial nomadism and chameleon responses, described by the Flandreau Papers, set in. For the staff, distrust and alienation are heightened. Since the Flandreau project began, adding social workers to school staff has been a thorny problem for the BIA. Whom should they report to, Education or Social Service? Even though the idea of hiring a Bureau social worker was advanced during the tenure of the mental health project, the position was not established until three years later and it has never been filled. At Pierre, an untrained worker was hired two years after the project, and she became part of the regular budget this year. There has been no reporting problem for this kind of worker: she reports to the principal. Comprehensive pupil personnel services, apparently favored by the new Division of Education, should do much to remedy the situation at the schools. The plans we heard, however, did not appear to encourage the participation of the major referral groups, i.e., BIA Community Services Division, tribes, parents, and cooperating agencies.

This report will not attempt to cope with the variety of unofficial reasons for enrollment one hears from students and others, but they include sentiment (parents and relatives attended a particular school) and attending in order to remain with friends who enroll for more legitimate reasons.

Education criteria for admission include, briefly, distance from the school at home; scholastic retardation of three or more years (or pronounced bilingual difficulties); and the need for special vocational or preparatory courses, not available locally, to fit them for gainful employment. The first criterion is little used in this area. Scholastic retardation is used but, as this review indicates, almost no remedial help is available to justify such referral. Students are socially promoted, sometimes until they graduate from high school. As Flandreau approaches a "normal" public school curriculum, the last criterion loses all meaning. The school appears to have resolved the old "saw" of whether schools are providing "terminal" education with a firm negative response from everyone, except those staff members concerned with other than academic education.

Finally, the inconsistency of the professed goal of helping students learn to live in white or reservation culture must also be questioned severely in the light of what this report has to say about relationships with local communities and reservations. The content, manner of teaching, and the "reach" of the culture course leaves much to be desired. Even if this program were given a higher priority than it appears to have been given, particuarly at Flandreau, one wonders how helpful it is to help Indians understand their culture in the isolation of boarding schools. Do not non-Indians need to learn these facts in a give and take relationship with Indians, for them to be meaningful to both?

It has been Public Health Service policy to provide mental health consultation to these schools. Limited mental health social work consultation is available from the Area Office. It has not been possible to fund IHS social work positions at the reservation service units in whose jurisdiction the schools are located. The schools, because of their relatively small populations, have an even lower priority. The consultation purchased by PHS for Flandreau has been described. Until this year, a similar arrangement existed for Pierre with staff coming from Sioux Falls. A combination of budget cuts and scarcity of professional staff has halted consultation at the school this year; however, seriously disturbed children are evaluated in Sioux Falls.

The Public Health Service emphasizes working toward making mental health services available to reservation communities. As these services are developed, they are used to enhance the appropriate placement of children. In the past, the BIA Area Child Welfare Consultant used the Flandreau report to help his field staff see the need for more selective placement of children, particularly when off-reservation boarding schools were under consideration. Sending children and youth hundreds of miles from home may well create or compound rather than solve social, emotional, educational and cultural problems. The development of comprehensive psychological services at these schools, in the absence of adequate services at home, tends to encourage poorly planned referrals on the rationale that the student will be diagnosed and treated after he gets there. The situation demands imaginative and cooperative child health, welfare, and education programming at the local level. Fragmentation of effort is rampant and the power structure is well established. Still, if more effort were concentrated there, the Division of Education might receive the help it needs to focus on a role for the boarding schools with more obtainable objectives and programs to meet them. If it is not, they must surely continue their muddled existence.

Memorandum for the Record, From John Bjork, Assistant Chief, Area Social Service Branch, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, re Trip Report, Pierre Indian School, December 10 and 11, 1968

Purpose: To participate with team sent by Senate Sub-Committee on Indian education to study boarding schools at Pierre and Flandreau.

Contacts: Dean A. Honetschlager, Program Coordinator; Francis Hamilton, Communications Director; Peter Petrefeso, Program Associate; Rosemary Christenson, Research Associate—all of Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Minneapolis. Thomas N. Tureen, Citizens Advocate Center, Washington; James Vance, Principal, Roberta Cahill, Social Worker, Pierre School; Adeline Grandle, PHS School Nurse.

Gabe Williams, Reservation Principal; Rose Gerber and Lloyd Kral of the Education Division of the BIA Aberdeen Area Office; John Madigan, Director, State Commission of Mental Health and Mental Retardation; Robert E. Roselius, Supervisor, Pierre District Office, State Division of Child Welfare; Reverend Edwin L. Bersagel, Pierre Lutheran Memorial Church.

Discussion: I arrived during the morning and went directly to the school where I attended two meetings Mr. Vance had called related to the holiday plans for the children. UMREL staff and Mr. Tureen also arrived during the morning and reported to Mr. Ezards, Reservation Superintendent. We all met at the school following lunch. Mr. Honetschlager briefed Mr. Vance and key staff and gave me an outline the group had received from Mr. Adrian Parmeter, Chief staff person for the Sub-Committee. I had been assigned, tentatively, to study psychological/emotional aspects of students, along with Mr. Honetschlager; and I also agreed to share responsibility for that part of the outline concerned with "factors outside the school"—local community and reservations. The division of responsibility was not rigid, however, and I thought the staff worked together quite well to cover the variety of topics suggested in the time that was available.

Having some familiarity with the general program of the school, I focused on interviews each day with the social worker at the school. I had known Mrs. Cahill when she was a student at Flandreau, but I had not met her since she had begun working at Pierre School. She was a Title I worker during the last half of the past school year, was employed during the summer, had been recently hired as a regular employee. Although she has no formal education in social work, Mrs. Cahill had been employed by the South Dakota Division of Child Welfare, and she has brought to her new job concern for doing something about the legal status of the students. She is also concerned about their social-psychological well-being and has begun to plan in this area and to assume some responsibility.

We discussed admission procedures and the referral of disturbed children. Application forms were not available for 20 students at the start of school, but through correspondence with the agencies, all but 8 of these have been secured. Medical information may accompany the application, be sent directly to the nurse, or not arrive at all. The school must often ask for immunization records. Mrs. Cahill stated that physical examinations are done within a week if required and that there is little duplication of these. Students from Pierre and Standing Rock often require physicals. She recalls having seen only one psychiatric work-up from North Dakota and this was done at the State Hospital. Evaluations done at Pierre are on file and one Nebraska child had had an evaluation while in the Nebraska training school. Apparently confidential folders are kept for some of the students. The academic record of a child generally accompanies him without too much difficulty; the system fails, however, if the child moves frequently. Social summaries continue to be brief and outdated in many instances, particularly for students from Rosebud and Standing Rock. Mrs. Cahill secures needed information by calling the home reservation (though sometimes no one there knows about the child or family), by talking to dorm staff who may have corresponded with the family or by talking to the child. The information is "hit or miss" and she attempts to update the file as information becomes available, e.g., the above, death in family notifications, etc. Some of the children do not have legal guardians. Others have guardians appointed by tribal courts, which are not recognized by the states. The custody of about 33 students was questionable, but through Mrs. Cahill's efforts, all South Dakota children now have guardians, if only tribally appointed ones. North Dakota children are next to receive a similar follow-up of guardianship status. The school has a few Montana students, only two from Wyoming and none from Nebraska this year. She cited only two students as not belonging at Pierre; they are failing, truant, and take other children with them, only to abandon them later.

I inquired about evidence of emotional or social disturbance. Mrs. Cahill reported that there had been no attempted suicide. Four girls had had trouble fighting, drinking and running away. Two of these who had run away six times and taken others with them had been sent home. They were from Montana and North Dakota. She suspects there may be glue sniffing, but discounted one incident in which boys had been arrested for stealing airplane glue by stating they were caught before it could be used for sniffing. Economically many of the students have no outside source of support. The Episcopal Church has a "correspondence families" program and some children receive money from their correspondents. Some of the children who visited in the Black Hills last summer, under a school sponsored program, have received money from the people with whom they stayed. The school has a student fund which is used for direct aid to students at Christmas and is used to sponsor monthly birthday parties. Local citizens and others contribute to the fund.

Mrs. Cahill said little negative about the local community; in fact, she stated that "we are probably lucky to have what we have." She mentioned two or three Brownie groups, one sponsored by the Pierre Jaycettes. She felt people in town were trying, doing more, and added that the school would prefer more donations of time rather than money. She felt that the younger students benefited more from these activities.

Last year Mrs. Cahill had talked about her services to a class of 24 third graders with an age range of 8 to 11. Following that a group of girls came weekly for a half-hour group session after class. The boys never responded this way but did talk to her individually in the hall or dorm. She has had individual conferences with other students with problems who asked to come or were sent by the teacher. If urgent, i.e., a child crying, these conferences might be held during class hours; otherwise, after school. She also spent one evening (5 to 8) each week in one dormitory when she would see the younger girls in a group session and younger boys individually. This year she plans to continue with her previous group (now 4th graders) and help the nurse with play group activities. She will help the nurse with sex education for 5th grade girls; the 5th grade boys are given instruction by a physician and the coach. The Scott-Forsman supplements (not text) will be used and they may also use the American Medical Association series. The AMA recommended film *Human Growth* is used each year.

There are approximately 16 students from Pierre Agency who have received Aid to Dependent Children during the past year. Almost all of the Turtle Mountain children—18—are ADC recipients. Whether children should or could be receiving ADC is not routinely recorded. She is aware of ten children who are known to state divisions of child welfare because of regular contacts which are maintained with the school. Mrs. Cahill reported that the Division of Child Welfare has placed many pre-school Indian children in foster care because of neglect. Last year Pierre District DCW placed six children in foster care from the school, but four had returned. Originally these children either were placed in foster care or boarding school by DCW, or DCW may have been given custody after school placement.

Contacts which students are apt to maintain with other agencies appear meager. Very few relatives visit the school although a nearby tribe arranges to bring its own students home for holiday visits. Some Rosebud parents visit, checking their children out during their stay. A Ft. Belknap tribal group visited last year but had only one student in residence. Ft. Berthold and Turtle Mountain BIA social workers visit regularly, the latter sometimes accompanied by county welfare workers. Mrs. Cahill commented that the Pierre District DCW office had offered to provide group work services at the school; although she agreed this could be worthwhile, she preferred that they pick-up on the students she had referred to them (for guardianship determination.) The manner in which she referred me to the supervisor of that office was definitely negative, the implication being that I should be prepared for much pretentious but worthless information. (Both the Supervisor and Mrs. Cahill, a caseworker in the office, are trained workers.)

I talked to Robert Roselius, Supervisor of the Pierre District Office of DCW because he heads a community agency which provides direct service to students at the school. Also present were Ramona O'Connor, a caseworker with Indian ancestry, who has six Pierre students in her caseload and Pia Massa who has two. Another worker, Roger Engker has two to four students in his care. The group appeared to be interested in their work, and they tried to be helpful in the interview. Mr. Roselius stated that they had fewer children placed in boarding schools this year because they had more staff and had worked hard at finding foster homes. Ideally they reserve the use of boarding schools for hard to place teenagers, preferably above the age of 12. He noted that children who have been in boarding schools a number of years may become institutionalized; and he cited his experience with two children who, he feels, did not adjust to foster family care for this reason and returned to a school placement. He stated that his workers provide casework service to children at Pierre School even though they may come from other districts in the state. In a similar way, Pierre children going to Flandreau are referred to the Brookings DCW Office. He volunteered that the state department, for various reasons, is not aware of all of the children assigned to its custody by the courts. He noted that Mrs. Cahill had "found" some of these children lost to DCW records at Pierre School and he suspected there might be even more at Flandreau. He believed that as foster care funds became more available, as was true this year, Pierre school would be used less as a catch-all for young children. Mr. Roselius stated that his staff does not give service to students known to other state departments of child welfare. He would accept such referrals, following consultation with BIA welfare staff and Mrs. Cahill, provided he had staff available at the time.

The DCW has about 12 children placed in boarding schools away from the Pierre area, namely in Sante Fe, Chilocco, Haskell, Wahpeton, and Standing Rock. Mission boarding schools are also used. Mr. Roselius believes that problems at boarding schools away from the reservation are both different and more difficult. He describes drop-outs from these schools as "child-motivated" whereas drop-outs on the reservation are "parent-motivated." He says children referred to the Standing Rock school are more apt to remain in school than those referred to the Pierre School.

I asked about their experiences using foster family care for children. Apparently no special effort is made to find Indian foster parents. He reported that they have had good results with mixed parents. In the past about half the caseload had been referred to other areas of the state, particularly in the Aberdeen and Sisseton areas. Apparently more effort is now being made to keep children in their home areas and they have not found this to be a problem. They have tried to use relatives to a great extent, even some who might be classed as poor risks by some casework standards. Mr. Roselius believes they have developed more homes in the Pierre area than in some other areas, Cheyenne River for example.

As for this group's understanding of relationships between Pierre School and the Pierre community, the quick response was a questioning of whether the local citizens knew the school even existed. A more considered judgment was that the school was probably more often a topic of conversation as there was gossip to relate rather than information of a constructive nature to report. Asked what would help, Mr. Roselius replied he did not know what the problem was. One negative factor is that law enforcement officials (municipal and county) are upset by the large number of out of state children who get into difficulty while running away. Another harmful factor is that some of the children of Indian houseparents at the school are among the biggest "problems" in the community. At the same time, these same parents have been fine foster parents.

There is prejudice and denial of it from both Indian and non-Indian. The public high school does not teach a course in Indian culture. The quiet person tends to be ignored. If status is gained, for example, through athletic prowess at the public high school, acceptance is granted. Mrs. O'Connor stated she felt she was accorded acceptance in her role as a child welfare worker. At the Pierre school, the staff finds that children claim them, by name, even though they are not known to DCW. They believe the staff at the school is doing more about getting children out of the school during the summer. Even though many of these recent attempts at summer placement have been unsuccessful, they look forward to increased activity in this area. DCW is considering developing a group foster home. Mr. Roselius believes they have a good relationship with the Pierre BIA welfare branch; however, they find that situations have deteriorated more before referrals are made, in contrast to Rosebud or non-Indian areas. As for psychiatric consultation, the Pierre DCW district office operates under the same handicaps which exist at the school.

In a discussion with John Madigan, Director of the State Commission of Mental Health and Mental Retardation, the idea of *lack* of a relationship was developed. Although a long-time resident of Pierre, Mr. Madigan reported he had never thought of the school in terms of attitudes local people might have toward it. He concluded that neither a positive nor negative attitude existed; rather, the relationship could best be described by the term "apathy." He recalled as a child that the swimming pool was always "dragged" the day after it had been used by the school. He wondered later about the appropriateness of Catholic Pierre Indian School children being bussed to early services. His children enjoy the wrestling competition but he questioned why the matches always seemed to be at the school rather than in town, and why the competition was limited to wrestling. (Matches are also held in town.) He thought a series of newspaper articles might be a positive step toward more active relationships between school and town, particularly if related to why the children were there. He asked in a questioning way whether the school served as an orphanage, then went on to state that orphanages had "gone by the board" in South Dakota, except for disturbed children. He hated to think they were all disturbed out there. Probably few people realized that the children were there year around. He thought the food was probably adequate but that the children probably lacked tender-loving care.

I was referred to Reverend Edwin Bersagel, pastor of a Lutheran Church, because of his interest in the school. Reverend Bersagel stated there had only been one child with a Lutheran background and she had joined the Congregational Church to be with school friends. It became evident that he has thought about the school, however. His immediate response was similar to Mr. Madigan's. The relationship is neither positive nor negative. The school is there and taken for granted. Pierre residents do not do or think much about it. He cited the 42 students attending a local school for practical nurses as being in a comparable situation. Both groups come from the outside and should be treated as guests, made to feel at home; instead, the community is not aware of them, ignoring that there are visitors in their midst. Some of the activities that have been carried out include families taking children into their homes at Christmas, along with community support for gifts, parties, programs. These activities should be expanded to more visiting during the summer, for a week or all summer, for example, to further integration. Reverend Bersagel expressed dislike for the isolation of the students and suggested that if the school were to continue, its role might change to a boarding facility with the children attending public school in Pierre. He did not know how the community would react to the latter idea. In response to my question, he thought relationships might be improved if the community could share the facilities at the school. He thought the gymnasium might be shared. He wondered if youth groups could use the dormitories for retreats during the summer. He had discussed these proposals with the previous principal, who seemed accepting of these, but nothing had been accomplished. He noted, in closing, that Indian children often did not graduate from the Pierre public school system. He suggested inferior clothing, a feeling of "not being in it," and prejudice as possible factors for their seeming lack of success in public schools.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS MEDICAL SCHOOL AT SAN ANTONIO,
San Antonio, Tex., January 28, 1969.

Mr. ADRIAN L. PARMETER,
Staff Director, U.S. Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Indian Education Subcommittee, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ADRIAN: I am enclosing a report on the site visit to Chilocco. In the interest of time, I am sending you a draft that I am also sending to other members of the committee. They may have some changes that they would like to make, and if so I will send you an amended copy.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. LEON, M.D.,
Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry.

REPORT ON SITE-VISIT TO THE CHILOCCO INDIAN SCHOOL, CHILOCCO, OKLAHOMA, JANUARY 8, 1969

(By Robert L. Leon, M.D.)

Site-visit team:

Robert L. Leon, M.D., Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, The University of Texas Medical School at San Antonio.

Povl W. Toussieng, M.D., Associate Professor of Child Psychiatry and Pediatrics, Director of Youth Counceling and Child Development Center, University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.

Atilano Al Valencia, Ph.D., Research Associate, Curriculum and Instruction, Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., Albuquerque, N. Mex.

At the request of the staff of the Senate Sub-committee on Indian Education, the site-visit was made to the Chilocco Indian School to attempt to assess the adequacy of the program for Indian students. The visitors focused on two principal areas—the Mental Health Program and the Curriculum. In the course of this, observations were made in other areas which will be mentioned in the body of the report. A report on Curriculum and Instruction, prepared by Dr. Valencia, is presented separately from more general comments and comments on the Mental Health Program.

The Chilocco Indian School was established in 1884. It is a non-reservation boarding school operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Indian students and is located near the northern border of Oklahoma. The nearest town, Arkansas City, Kansas, is seven miles to the north. The school has some modern buildings, but some of the buildings currently in use date back to 1890. This year the enrollment is approximately 970 students from 29 states of the Union. Last year there were approximately 93 tribes represented by the students who were enrolled. This year approximately 380 of the students are Eskimos and Indians from Alaska. Most of the Alaskans are Eskimos from small villages in Western Alaska.

The bulletin published by the school lists the following requirements for admission:

1. Home conditions and environment are not suitable.
2. Local or public school facilities are not available.
3. Acceptable training is not available locally.

The superintendent states that although many students are sent ostensibly because no school is available to them locally or because they need certain vocational courses offered by Chilocco, a large percentage of these students are sent because of social and/or emotional problems. Some students have no families to care for them. Others have been expelled from their local schools and the community. Students who have gotten into trouble with the law are often given the choice by the juvenile judge of going to a juvenile detention facility, or to an Indian boarding school—in this case Chilocco. The superintendent estimates that up to 75 per cent of the students come to Chilocco because of serious social and emotional or educational problems or a combination of these.

Students who come to the school are one, two or more years educationally retarded, and therefore, there are many children who are older than one would expect to find in an ordinary public high school.

Students live in dormitories. The new dormitory has 350 students. Several of the others have approximately 180 students. Instruction aides and night attendants are responsible for the students in the dormitory (see accompanying organizational chart). The school attempts to maintain a maximum number of staff in the dormitories between the hours of 6:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. when the students are in the dormitories and awake. At this time they have one instructional aide per 90 students. After 9:30 there is one night attendant on duty in each dormitory. This means that the dormitory with 350 students has one night attendant, and in the other dormitories there is approximately one attendant per 180 students. The superintendent told us that they were thirteen instructional aides short of the Bureau of Indian Affairs standards for the number of students per instructional aide.

There is almost no organized Mental Health Program. What does exist is carried out by the Guidance Department, Division of Indian Health Personnel, and through Contract Services. Guidance Personnel are hampered in their counseling efforts because of their responsibility for the discipline of the students. This makes students reluctant to come to Guidance Personnel with problems.

The Division of Indian Health Service nurse sees those who come to the Health Center to discuss emotional problems. She receives some supervision from the social worker from the Kay County Guidance Center. The social worker comes to the school for a few hours one time per month. An occasional students may be referred for psychiatric evaluation to the Kay County Guidance Center. This is infrequent.

Discussion: This report on Chilocco can very easily be summed up as follows: The program at the Chilocco Indian School is inadequate in every respect. There are of course some competent and well-meaning faculty in staff of the school, who are trying to do the best they can with the resources which are available to them. But even a good teacher has too many students in a class and inadequate equipment with which to work. A dedicated guidance counselor or instructional aide has too many students with whom he must relate and is further hampered by his role as disciplinarian. There is essentially no mental health program even though a nurse is doing her best to discuss problems with students who come to her. There is almost no communication between the Division of Indian Health staff and BIA school personnel.

If Chilocco were a school dealing with normal average students, we would still make the above statement. But to make matters worse, Chilocco does not deal with normal students. The superintendent estimates that up to 75 per cent of the students come to Chilocco because of severe social or emotional problems. Furthermore, the students are one or more years emotionally retarded. Yet, the school makes no provision to deal with such problem children. The age spread of the students makes matters even more difficult. The school must deal with a group from younger adolescence to young adults. Many of the young adults have no better than a ninth grade educational level. Yet, their emotional needs may be quite different than other ninth graders that come in.

The physical plant can either facilitate or severely inhibit an attempt to develop an adequate program. In the case of Chilocco, physical plant impedes program development. The buildings are arranged in haphazard fashion. Many of them are old, out-moded, and should be torn down. The school is so physically isolated from any community as to make Indian children's relationships with society at large almost impossible. We view this as a serious problem, since one of the goals of any school is to help socialize the children.

The physical plant and lack of staff makes supervision of the children difficult and leads to a reform school atmosphere. We were surprised that the school does not have more acting-out behavior. For example, one might expect more girls to become pregnant and more destructive acting out by the boys. These things do occur, but the fact that they do not occur more frequently is a compliment to the students of the school. It is obviously almost impossible to provide any controls at night when there are 350 students in one dormitory with one attendant or 180 in several other dormitories, each with one attendant. It is alleged that one dormitory with over a hundred students has been locked at night with no attendant. Even in the evening hours when the school attempts to staff more heavily in the dormitories, there are 90 children per instructional aide.

The problems of Alaskans in this school are special ones. It is reported that Alaskans are sent to Chilocco because there are no school facilities nearer their home. It was reported that the Eskimo students have greater problems with feelings of home sickness than do other students. Some of the Alaskans we talked with stated that they would like to be taught skills that were more applicable to Alaska and the villages from which they came, but this kind of instruction was not available at the school.

There appears to be no valid reason for sending students from Alaska to Chilocco, Oklahoma. If schooling is not currently available in Alaska, it should be made available, and soon. We have thought and thought and are completely unable to find anything positive to say about this practice. It all appears to be negative.

Several of the students to whom we talked complained about the food. Some said it was poorly prepared and all of it tastes the same. Others complained that they did not get enough to eat and complained that they could not go back for seconds. Some of the boys who are engaged in the athletic programs particularly complained about the inadequate quantity of food.

The brighter students complained about the classes, stating that they were gauged to the level of the slow student and, therefore, gave then inadequate preparation. Some students also complained that the only foreign language offered is Spanish.

We have already mentioned the lack of a Mental Health Program. Some dormitory staff say that their recommendations for psychological help are not followed through by the school administration. Yet, there are serious psychological and psychiatric problems in the school. They have possibly one or two serious suicide attempts per year. We heard about many children who sniffed glue or attempted to cut their wrists. We learned about occasional violence in the dormitory, with one boy attempting to choke another.

Dr. Edwin Fare, the Director of the Kay County Guidance Center, stated that he had both the facilities and the wish to help out in the school. However, the school personnel has made no use of his services personally for the last four or five years, and he has not been on the campus for the last several years. Apparently the school has not been willing to pay for psychiatric and psychological service from the Kay County Guidance Center. Dr. Fare was aware of a student who had been sent to the University of Oklahoma for phychiatric evaluation rather than to the Kay County Guidance Center which is less than ten miles away. Dr. Fare would like to work out a contract for services to the Chilocco school. Such a contract could not only offer individual psychiatric and psychological evaluation, but also consultation to guidance staff and teachers and some in-service training in group techniques and better recognition of emotional problems. It is difficult to understand why a school in which admittedly over 50 per cent of the youngsters have severe behavioral or emotional problems has not made better use of a nearby Mental Health facility.

Conclusions: We believe that serious consideration should be given as to whether or not to continue this school in its present location as it now is. If the school is continued, it should be for students from the immediate area. Since these students are apt to be educationally retarded, and in addition have social and emotional problems, the school should have remedial programs for academic and intellectual development and an adequate Mental Health Program. Placement for those students who come from some distance should be found nearer to their homes. Certainly the practice of sending Alaskan children to Chilocco should be discontinued immediately, and neither should children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other distant states be sent so far from home for schooling.

If the school is continued in its present location, it must be funded adequately, and a whole new physical plant should be built. Since so much new construction is needed, the possibility of closing down the school completely is worth studying.

While a thorough study is being undertaken, the school will obviously continue, and, therefore, the following recommendations are offered:

(1) Staffing pattern must be improved. Staffing is not up to BIA minimum standard.

(2) Superintendent should be given freedom to recruit young imaginative teachers.

(3) Communication between the Division of Indian Health and BIA must be improved and negotiations should begin with the Kay County Guidance Center and The University of Oklahoma toward development of a Mental Health Program of some significance.

A REPORT ON CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION ON THE CHILOCCO INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL, PREPARED BY DR. ATILANO A. VALENCIA, THE SOUTHWESTERN COOPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.

BACKGROUND

The evaluation of curriculum and instruction at the Chilocco Indian Boarding School was based on interviews with Dr. Leon Wall Superintendent of the School, Department Heads, a group of five students, a brief tour of the plant conducted by Mr. Clarence Winston, Principal of the School, and curriculum and instruction data provided by the schools' offices.

CURRICULUM

The scope of curricular offerings was revealed partly through teacher and administrative interviews and literature supplied by the schools' offices. This information shows excellent curricular offerings, essentially comprehensive in nature. These offerings are illustrated in Appendix A of this report. The data clearly show comprehensive offerings in twelve curricular categories: Language Arts, Mathematics, Social Studies, Science, Business Education, Fine Arts, Health and Safety Education, Foreign Language, Industrial Arts Education (Practical Arts), Vocational Education, General Agriculture, and Home Economics.

Interviews with department heads and administrators provided evidence which corroborated the data given in the literature. In general, the people interviewed believe that curricular offerings are quite adequate for the needs of the student population.

The only curricular additions suggested by the interviewees were: Bookkeeping II, Art, Speech, Typing and foreign languages. It was proposed that although typing and foreign languages are offered in the curriculum, an earlier introduction (grades 9 and 10) would be advantageous to the studens.

Traditionally, Indian boarding schools have placed much emphasis to vocational education, especially in the area of agriculture. But according to the administrative interviews, it is expected that vocational education will progressively diminish in importance. The irony of this is that over 50 percent of the students entering the ninth grade fail to graduate; furthermore, the number of graduates entering college is practically nil.

Rather than de-emphasizing vocational education, it is suggested that vocational offerings be considered in reference to skills that will increase the student's economic opportunities in his area of interest. For example, an Eskimo boy's interest in gasoline and diesel engines may be based on the fact that his type of technical service is in demand by the boat industry in Alaska. This type of training has greater meaning to this boy than three hours of agriculture daily. On the other hand, the latter offering may have relevance to the boy from an agricultural area.

Rather than de-emphasizing the vocational curriculum, present curricular offerings, content, out-moded time structures, methodology and evaluation methods might be examined for meaningfulness, relevancy, motivational aspects, and achievement measures based on behavioral objectives and performance criteria.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODOLOGY

The lecture method, textbook and workbook approach, are commonly used in all of the school's curricular areas, especially in the academic curriculum. Small group discussions are held occasionally in a few subject matter areas. The department heads indicated that this instructional mode was used sometimes in the social sciences and English, but mostly in grades 9 and 10. Additionally, task-oriented small group instruction was reported in home economics and in some vocational education courses.

The students interviewed expressed the feeling that, too often, teachers tend to lecture for long periods of time; consequently, student attention has been a learning variable. All of the students interviewed reacted favorably to the suggestion for teachers to use a variety of instructional techniques and media.

Although some individualized instruction is used in home economics and in some vocational education areas, the department heads and students reported that the individualized instructional approach is not widely practiced.

The department heads responded favorably to the suggestion for the school to hold continuous and intensive preservice and inservice training programs. A discussion with the teacher interviewees generated the feeling that the Chilocco faculty definitely needs familiarization and training in the application of various types of instructional modes and media; also, training is needed in the formulation of behavioral objectives coupled with evaluation measures based on performance criteria.

Although a few teachers attend summer workshops at neighboring universities, the demand for summer teaching at Chilocco tends to hold teachers from attending more institutes which focus on innovative teaching methods.

Yet, merely holding a series of conventionally organized institutes does not assure teacher behavioral changes that will, in turn, effect greater learning among the Chilocco Indian population. One alternative is to call upon a team of consultants or experts in the application of a variety of instructional techniques and media, with up-to-date knowledge in developing course objectives and performance criteria, and versed in the use of micro-teaching techniques to ascertain the extent of behavioral changes among teachers in simulated instructional settings. What is suggested here is for the Chilocco Indian Boarding School to clear the cobwebs of traditional teaching and delve into curricular and instructional approaches that will heighten learning and increase its holding power over the population it serves.

CLASSROOM LOADS

Generally, classroom loads have not posed a serious problem at Chilocco. Some slight overloads beyond thirty students were reported in the academic areas for grades 9 and 10. But even where classroom loads are maintained within twenty-five to thirty students, this class size will restrict teachers from using instructional strategies other than those basically appropriate for large group settings. Here, teacher aides could be used advantageously to provide assistance where professional instruction is not highly applicable. For example, small group sessions can be carried without the presence of the professional teacher in every group. Yet, the essential stimuli for learning (immediately and in subsequent activities apart from the teacher) can be provided by the teacher in appropriately scheduled sessions.

Both administrators and department heads revealed the need for additional staff members; both expressed concern over the difficulty in finding and hiring qualified, credentialed teachers. This may continue to be a problem for the Indian boarding schools. Coupled with the notion of hiring teacher aides or paraprofessionals to use in some features of the instructional program, the incorporation of a flexible time schedule in the school curriculum will facilitate the utilization of professional teachers and paraprofessionals on a role differentiated basis.

CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The athletic program at Chilocco Indian Boarding School has not proved successful in terms of interschool competition. However, the administrative staff and faculty are aware that Indian students coming to Chilocco have not had the exposure to American sports that other American children have had in Anglo-American communities and public school settings. To expect these youngsters to compete successfully with the public schools in Anglo-American sports is highly questionable. Yet, Indian schools continue to place emphasis in sports such as football, basketball, etc., instead of developing activities that have greater relevancy to the Indian cultures.

Some attention has been directed toward encouraging activities (e.g., Indian dances and songs) which are directly related to the various Indian cultures found in the Chilocco school; however, as Dr. Wall has pointed out, this has been incidental rather than being an integral part of the total curricular program.

Somehow, Indian schools must begin to recognize and develop more activities related to the Indian cultures found in their instructional settings. Cultural awareness institutes can play a vital role in familiarizing teachers with Indian games, songs and dances. This does not imply that teachers must become experts in all of these cultural activities. Rather, it suggests that teachers must undertake the organization of co-curricular activities that will encourage Indian youngsters to practice some of their games, songs and dances. Also, it does not preclude the possibility of encouraging youngsters to learn and practice other sports (tennis, table tennis, volleyball, skating, swimming, etc.) that might have an appeal for adolescents in various ethnic groups. But it is suggested that instead of emphasizing competive sports in which only a few participants play a role, and which tend to depreciate the self image of the Indian youngster, a more complete and meaningful athletic and recreation program can be provided.

Moreover, the number of Indian youngsters indulging in intoxicating beverages and seeking other prohibitive types of entertainment will not necessarily be curbed by punishment based on handcuffing methods and solitary confinement. A more positive approach, such as an expanded and more attractive recreational program, might produce better results. For such a program, non-credentialed paraprofessionals can be used to help train and supervise the youngsters in sports and recreational pursuits.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND DROPOUTS

A large proportion of the students who are admitted to the Chilocco Indian Boarding School have a background of academic failures, or social and psychological problems. In this sense, the uniqueness of the student population poses a special problem in the instructional and learning schemes.

One of the administrators expressed the point that students with a background of failures, who expect an easier road in this school, find that the school will not tolerate academic inactivity. This may be one of the factors contributing to the school's dropout problem.

There are, of course, other factors which have been indicated as causes for dropouts. Among them are pregnancies, parental pressures for children to return home, homesickness, dismissal from school for serious school infractions, etc. And as one administrator expressed it, some students intentionally and frequently break school rules to bring about a dismissal from school.

In spite of the uniqueness and nature of the student body composition, the dropout rate at the Chilocco school is gradually improving. The school is keeping a yearly record on the number of dropouts per semester, the number of students returning to school after dropping out, and the net number of dropouts per semester and year. In the year 1967–68, the school lost approximately 162 students, with approximately two-thirds of the dropouts taking place during the first semester. This, however, has been an improvement over recent years when the dropout rate was approximately 25 percent. At this point, a complimentary note is extended to the school for its attention to the dropout problem. Additionally, it is suggested that any curricular and instructional improvement that reflects higher achievement and positive psychological reinforcement for the Indian youngster can effect a sharp increase in class attendance and school retention.

Although the school maintains academic requirements for graduation, the interviewees revealed that it is possible for students who were chronic failures elsewhere to survive at Chilocco. Therefore, the problem becomes that of ascertaining gains in learning and achievement from year to year. This can be determined by conducting semester and yearly testing programs, followed by statistical analyses. The school has been using the California Achievement Instrument—this can serve as a beginning point for a comparative statistical analysis.

A random selection of 40 California Achievement Test scores from grades 10 and 11 (1967 enrollment) was made by this investigator to provide the results of a single comparative statistical analysis. This analysis is illustrated below:

MEAN ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR GRADES 10 AND 11, USING A SAMPLING OF 40 STUDENTS PER GRADE

Subject	Mean scores		Approximate retardation	
	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 10	Grade 11
Mathematics	7.53	7.99	3.0+0.2	3.5+0.2
Reading	8.46	9.15	2.0+ .2	2.4+ .2
Language	9.59	10.15	1.0+ .2	1.3+ .2
Battery average	8.70	9.20	1.8+ .2	2.3+ .2

A number of important inferences can be drawn from this type of an analysis. First, the data can be used to compare the degree of retardation between three basic skill areas: mathematics, reading and language. Second, a comparison can be made to determine mean achievement score differences between class groups and within class groups from semester to semester or year to year.

For example, the following inferences can be drawn from an examination of the (1967) data given in the foregoing table:

1. There is a two-year gap between the achievement level in Mathematics (7.53) and Language (9.6) for grade 10. Additional data might be examined to determine whether this difference is the result of an instructional or curricular deficiency, a cultural variable, a lower mathematic mean achievement level as compared to a language mean achievement level in entering school, the nature of the subject matter (commonality across all ethnic groups), etc.

2. Despite the fact that a greater number of students have dropped out of school by the 11th grade as compared to the 10th grade, the data show a *greater* degree of relative retardation for the 11th grade group. This raises the question on differences in achievement levels and gains between 9th grade class groups entering school from year to year, or in reference to the effectiveness of the instructional program in producing sharp increases in learning and achievement from year to year.

It is suggested that the aforementioned or a similar type of analysis be undertaken by the school to compare 1968–69 achievement data to test information from previous years. This will reveal significant areas of deficiences among individual students; moreover, it will provide a check on the effectiveness of the curriculum and instructional program on a semester and year to year basis. Data from other types of instruments also can be used to provide other specificities on achievement and deficiencies. These data can then be carefully examined to effect positive revisions in curriculum and instruction.

REMEDIAL PROGRAMS

Although some remediation is given in this school, the overall remedial program should be expanded and intensified to meet the social, educational and psychological needs of the Chilocco school population.

The diagnostic approach to ascertain acute areas of deficiencies and needs among individual students, followed by placement in programs to alleviate these needs, should be an important feature in the school's educational thrusts.

COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE PROGRAM

Using counselors as disciplinarians is not an effective way to utilize professionally trained people. Student behavioral problems at Chilocco are frequently referred to counselors for disciplinary measures. The so-called "hour system" is often used by counselors as a punishment device for recalcitrant students.

The interview with students revealed that youngsters often are reluctant to approach counselors on personal problems, etc. At least for the girls, the dormitory matrons are often aproached for advice rather than the counselors.

To effect a greater professional and useful service to the student body at the Chilocco school, the role responsibility of the counseling, and guidance staff must be given immediate consideration. This consideration should include the following:

1. The primary function of the counseling personnel should be to discuss academic problems as well as personal problems; further, the clerical processes in scheduling should be assigned to clerical personnel.

2. Counselors must not be a part of any disciplinary measures. This does not preclude discussions of the problems in terms of social and psychological understanding; however, the discipline must be defined and administered by other personnel. In essence, the stigma of punishment and blame must be removed from the counseling and guidance staff.

3. Unless a youngster threatens harm to anyone, the counseling staff must be given the privilege to hold from release certain types of personal data.

4. To accomplish effective counseling, the counselor's background and training should include courses in the behavioral sciences (preferably in non-experimental psychology), counseling and guidance, tests and measurements, sociology (specifically related to the area of minority groups), and an internship program in counseling and in the administration and interpretation of psychological and educational tests.

5. The counseling and guidance department should hold inservice meetings to train teachers in the interpretation and application of relevant test data. Training in the interpretation and application of test data will help reduce some of the malpractices in using test information. Among these malpractices is the self-fulfilling prophesy which arises when teachers interpret and use test scores as fixed values, especially with reference to minority groups and lower income groups.

6. In view of the fact that this school has a high proportion of youngsters with behavior problems, educational problems, social problems, and problems associated with ethnicity, special testing instruments must be identified or designed. Moreover, special testing sessions must be scheduled to provide data relative to various types of learning variables. Additionally, special training in the administration of specialized tests appropriate to the school population should be extended to the counselors. If necessary, special consultants should be hired to train the in-house counseling staff relative to specialized tests and specialized counseling techniques.

7. A follow-up system on dropouts and graduates is virtually non-existent in this school. Although the student population comes from many geographical areas, this should not be a sufficiently valid reason for postponing the development of a follow-up system. This needs to be given serious and immediate attention by the administrative and counseling staff.

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

Shortages in basic learning materials (e.g., tests and workbooks) were not generally apparent. Only in one or two of the academic areas was there a minor deficiency in materials.

However, a careful examination is suggested to ascertain the condition and recency of instructional materials. Some materials appeared quite worn, either because of age or overuse.

A careful examination and evaluation of the equipment in all of the curricular areas is needed to determine specific deficiencies. A brief tour of the plant and facilities provided evidence of low quantity and quality in some areas; this was particularly noted in the science curriculum.

The interviews with department heads and students indicated a very low utilization of multi-media in the instructional program. If instructional improvement is expected, the availability and applicability of a variety of visual, audio and other types of learning aids must be given serious attention. These aids must be made readily accessible to teachers for classroom use as well as to Students in learning centers for independent study.

APPENDIX A

	UNITS			*UNITS			*UNITS	
	1	2		1	2		1	2
LANGUAGE ARTS			BUSINESS EDUCATION			VOCATIONAL EDUCATION		
English I	1		Accounting	1		Voc. Agri. I		
English II	1		Business Math			Voc. Agri. II		
English III	1		General Business	½		Voc. Agri. III		
English IV	1		Shorthand			Voc. Agri. IV		
Speech	1		Typing	2		Voc. Home Econ. I		
Journalism	1½		Office or Clerical Pract.			Voc. Home Econ. II		
Rem. Reading	1		Business Law	½		Voc. Home Econ. III		
Yearbook	½		Business Machines			Voc. Home Econ. IV		
			Business English	½		Family Living		
						Oc. Training		
			FINE ARTS					
MATHEMATICS			Art	2				
Gen. Math.	1		Vocal Music	3		IND. CO-OP TRAINING		
Algebra I	1		Applied Music Inst.	3		I		
Algebra II	1		Theory of Music			II		
Plane Geometry	1							
Solid Geometry								
Trigonometry	½							
H. S. Math	1					DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION		
Math Analysis								
Analytic Geom.	½		HEALTH & SAFETY					
			Driver Education	½				
			Safety Education			GEN. AGRI. & HOME ECON.		
			Health Education	½		Gen. Agri. I		
			Physical Education	1		Gen. Agri. II	½	
			Competitive Athletics			Gen. Agri. III	1½	
SOCIAL STUDIES						Gen. Agri. IV	2	
Am. History	1					Gen. Home Econ. I	1	
Economics	½					Gen. Home Econ. II	1	
Modern History						Gen. Home Econ. III	1½	
World History	1					Gen. Home Econ. IV	2	
HXS: Geography World	½		FOREIGN LANGUAGE			TRADE & INDUSTRIAL EDUC.		
Prob. of Dem.	1		French			Body & Fender	3½	
Psychology	½		Latin			Dry Cleaning	3½	
Sociology	½		Spanish	2		Electricity	3½	
Okla. Hist. & Civics	1		German			Shoe Repair	3½	
Int. Relations	½					Painting	3½	
Indian History	½					Welding	3½	
						Printing	3½	
						Food Service	3½	
SCIENCE			INDUSTRIAL ARTS EDUC.			Culinary Arts	3½	
Biology	1		Auto Mechs.	3½		Pre-Cosmetology	2	
Chemistry	1		Crafts			Drafting	3½	
Gen. Science	1		Drafting Mech. Draw.	1		T. Y. CREDIT COURSES		
Physics	1		Gen. Shop	1½				
Physical Science	1		Metal Work					
Physiology			Woodwork					
						AREA VOC. TECH. SCHOOL		

Total Units last year: 99

Recommended this year: 95

*Units taught this year - - Column No. 1 95

NC

*Units carried over from last year - - Column No. 2 ____

209

APPENDIX B

ENROLLMENT AND STUDENT BODY COMPOSITION

Enrollment: Appoximately 970 students (first semester 1968).

Composition: 93 tribes or ethnic groups. Some of the students come from as far west and north as Washington and Alaska. In fact, one-third of the student population is from Alaska.

REPORT OF STUDENT-TEACHING EXPERIENCED AT CHILOCCO FEDERAL INDIAN SCHOOL, CHILOCCO, OKLAHOMA. PREPARED BY RICHARD E. HOVIS. STUDENT AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY, STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA. PREPARED FOR DR. JACOB BLANKENSHIP, TEACHING METHODS PROFESSOR, FROM THE PERIOD OF APRIL 1 TO MAY 31, 1968

Chilocco is located in Kay County, Oklahoma. It borders Kansas for two miles, being about four miles from Arkansas City, Kansas. It is twenty-five miles north of Ponca City, Oklahoma, and sixty-five miles north of Stillwater, Oklahoma. The land is in a two mile square. The school buildings are in the north central part of the square.

The campus consists of approximately fifteen major buildings surrounding a large oval. It is a very pleasant looking and well-kept campus, comparable to many small college campuses. These are three or four girls' dorms and two boys' dorms. The main boys' dorm, which houses the sophomores, juniors and seniors, is large and modern. It was completed a couple of years ago and is completely air-conditioned. The other boys' dorm and girls' dorms are older and were probably built in the nineteen thirties.

As inferred above, the school accommodates students of four high school grades (nine through twelve). The students are all of American Indian descent. Slightly over eleven hundred were enrolled at the first of the school year. They represent ninety-five different tribes and come from thirty-eight different states. A large number of the students, about one third, are from the states of Arizona and New Mexico; and most of these are members of the Navajo Tribe. Another large group, about one third, is from Alaska. This group is composed of Eskimos, Aleuts and Athabascans.

There are two reasons that a child would be at Chilocco. The first reason, which brings the majority of the students, is that their homes are in such remote areas that they cannot easily commute to public schools. Many of the Navajo families live in line dwellings miles from any town in the desert areas of Arizona and New Mexico. Most of the Eskimos come from small remote villages on the coast of the Bering Sea or the Arctic Ocean. The Aleuts come from small villages in the Aleutian Islands and from the southern coast of Alaska. And the Athabascans come from the interior regions of Alaska, many coming from villages along the Yukon River.

The second reason that a child would be at Chilocco is because of one or several social problems he has at home. Many are there because they cannot adjust to public schools. They come from bilingual homes and they are not adept enough at the subtleties of the English language to be comfortable around their public school classmates. Some come from poor homes that cannot afford, or at least do not provide, the proper clothes, school supplies, and spending money that help make a child at ease among his classmates. Compounding this situation are the differences in cultural background, moral values and of course the obvious difference of skin coloration.

Also, many children come from broken homes. There may be only one parent in the home. This by itself may not merit sending a child across the country to a Federal boarding school in Oklahoma, but many times the one parent (or both) will be an alcoholic or at least a heavy drinker. This fluctuating uncertain home life creates insurmountable problems for a child trying to attend a public school. At the recommendation of the social worker on the reservation the child is sent to Chilocco.

So, from all over America—from Miami, Florida, to Point Barrow, Alaska, from Shiprock, New Mexico to Cherokee, North Carolina—they come to Chilocco. They all have different backgrounds. Each tribe has its own heritage and cultural differences. And *within* some tribes, such as the Eskimos, there are sometimes such great differences in dialects that they can't understand members of their own tribe from a village fifty miles away. Some come from cities as large as

New York or Miami while others live in a mud hut twenty or thirty miles from their nearest neighbor on an Arizona desert. There are large differences in the intelligence levels of the Chilocco student. Some are sent to Chilocco because they are not intellectually challenged at their public schools. They become bored, rebellious, and finally a discipline problem that is coped with by sending him to a boarding school. On the other hand, some drop out of public schools because they are mentally incapable of even the most elementary forms of learning. Some cannot read or write above a second or third grade level. The economic conditions the students come from vary. Some come from moderately wealthy families while others come from families that are extremely poor. The moral standards of the students vary a great deal. A large percentage of the students have been exposed to alcohol at an early age; but others are from very moral families who live in villages that completely forbid the use of alcohol.

So, it can easily be seen that Chilocco is a very heterogenous mixture of students with all possible backgrounds, intellectual abilities, and ambitions. Their only common union is that they are all labeled "American Indian". It seems unfair that they should all be treated just alike and that they should be indiscriminately put into the same classroom and given the same "education". These kids have no more in common with each other than do the Mexicans with the Italians. It would be no more difficult and no greater of an injustice to try and educate a group of intelligent wealthy New York students with a group of ignorant poor Mississippi students than it is to try and educate these Indian students in the same classroom. The Chilocco teacher is forced to teach at a median intelligence level. But in doing so he doesn't get through to the great majority of students. The smart students are bored so they go to sleep. The less intelligent students don't know what the teacher is talking about, so *they* go to sleep. When the students that are bored are asleep, and the students who can't understand are asleep, there sometimes isn't much of a class left. It is not uncommon for a classroom at Chilocco to have over half of the students asleep while the teacher is giving the lesson.

The Chilocco students are very quiet and unresponsive in class. The lack of classroom noise and enthusiasm is apparent when one first enters the room. There is no spontaneous excitement. There is no spontaneous laughter. There is no general murmur of enthusiasm when something happens in the classroom. The students are listless. In general, they don't have the characteristics of a dynamic and happy class. Each student is an island—an unresponsive, introverted island. He may be thinking about school work or he may be thinking about his home several thousand miles away. If he is thinking about the classroom work, he may be genuinely interested, or he may be bored; but the point is, his teacher and his fellow students never know which. There is no sponteneity in classroom work. Everything is forced and strained.

And no wonder everything is forced and strained. With the students from so many different home situations and with such wide cultural backgrounds it is not surprising that to most students it is a "foreign" situation. Many of the students are qualified for high school in age only. They are not qualified either academically or emotionally. Many, notably the Eskimo children, have led very sheltered and innocent lives previous to coming to Chilocco. I talked to one Eskimo girl from Point Barrow, Alaska, and I asked her if she had ever drank before. I was surprised when she said that not only had she never drank, but alcohol was forbidden in Point Barrow. In contrast, there are a few of the students who should be or have been in a reform school or penitentiary. They have been exposed to a rough life and they are hardened beyond their years. On a questionnaire that I handed out to the students I asked what they would like to be doing rather than be in class right now. One girl, who had been kicked out of public schools in Oklahoma several times and who was a hardened delinquent, said that she would like to be "out drinking on some dusty road." So, all of the students are thrown together at Chilocco. Most of them have never been away from home in their lives. They are taken away from their homes where all they knew was the hunting or fishing or farming or horse raising of their families.

Their freedom is taken away and they are put in the sterile environment of Chilocco. They come from wilderness areas of America where they have all the freedom they want to hunt or fish or they come from very permissive families that have allowed them to run wild all their lives. They are put at Chilocco, and except for infrequent exceptions they are not allowed "out of sight of the campus" for nine months. Chilocco makes a conscious effort to bring to the students the educational advantages that it thinks important. There are special educational and cultural activities day and night until the student barely has enough time to sleep, but they don't get to do the little things that to me seem so important for the proper growth of a teenager. They don't have the freedom to take a walk more than one hundred yards from campus. They can't go downtown shopping. They can't go into town and see a movie on a weekend. They don't even have the freedom to go into town and get a coke at a drug store like any other teenager. These may seem like small things to have missing from life, but if you can imagine how much they meant to you when you were growing up, I think you will see how much they are missed by these kids.

As one of the teachers at Chilocco said, the students "are a captive audience" and the longer I was there, the more I agreed with him. With each day they lose a little more of their zest for life. They soon learn that the school was built for the purpose of educating American Indians, and they will be thought of as American Indians and not as individuals. They soon drift into silent contempt with the rest of their classmates. And after four years, some of them don't even have enough spirit left to feel contempt.

This lack of spirit seems to be a big problem at Chilocco. It seems like every time one of the students shows a little spirit or exerts himself in any way, he is quickly put in his place. Boxing used to be a big sport at Chilocco. The Chilocco boxers were well known in the area and they have produced several champions. The boys liked the sport because it was a healthy outlet for their aggressions. The sport was discontinued, though, because the administration decided that it was too rough. Chilocco also used to produce champion football teams.

Now, however, they win very few games. I talked to one of the sophomore boys and he said that he had thrown a block too hard one time and the coach pulled him out of the game, and slapped him in front of his team-mates. He never played again, and he said that next year he was going to go back to his public school in Montana where the coach had offered him a place on the team. A good example of lack of spirit occurred near the end of the year at the Pageant. The Pageant is a biennial production that the students put on to show the cultural heritage of their different tribes. This seems like a very good idea. It should be a fun-filled occasion which would make the kids proud of their heritage. In fact, however, in the weeks before the pageant, the teachers do ninety percent of the work. There is no interest or enthusiam on the part of the students. This is only one example of the hard work teachers must put in with no encouragement or help from the students. It's a frustrating experience to work night after night on a thankless project. It's devestating to a teacher's ego and confidence in himself to fight this lack of enthusiasm day after day, year after year. I invited several friends of mine up to see the Pageant. They said that when they first arrived on campus they could sense the quietness and lack of spirit in the students. They said that there was no shouting or loud laughing that would be evident at any other high school. At the Pageant there was no spontaneous laughter or applause. The students just sat there until it was over then went back to the dorms.

This lack of outlet for their emotions can result in violent and bizarre happenings. A few of the students will sometimes sneak out of their dorms and walk into town to buy liquor. They then drink it as fast as they can in a recreational area about one half mile from the campus. The administration is aware that this happens occasionally and it is very hard to guard against without imposing prison restrictions. But every weekend or so some of the boys, and girls, can't stand being cooped up any longer, and they drink all they can stand—sometimes more than they can stand. Last Easter morning one of the Crow boys from Montana was found dead from too much alcohol. I talked to one of his teachers, and found that he was a very meek and obedient student in class. He always handed in his assignments and was never a problem. He apparently could stand it no more and drank himself to death. I don't think he died of an over-dose of alcohol but of an over-dose of having his spirit crushed. Also, at this same drunk, one of the girls was raped. This is one of several cases of rape I heard of while I was there. I was told by a teacher that one of my students had been raped by several boys the year before. Not only this, but the incident took place on the balcony of the school auditorium. Looking for a place to be alone, boys and their girl friends have many times broken into the building which houses the auditorium.

Since no display of sexual emotion is permitted on the campus, and since the students are not allowed off the campus, it is no wonder that they must break into buildings to be alone. I was in one of the rooms on the top floor of the building the day after some of the students had been there the previous night. There was a gaping hole in the ceiling and one side of the room was littered with material that had broken away from the ceiling. I asked what had happened, and was told that some students had broken in. I assumed that it had been broken into for purposes of vandalism, but when I looked around the room I couldn't see any evidence of destruction. Nothing was turned over, and the room was in perfect order except for the hole in the ceiling. I asked why this was so and the teacher told me that the students had broken into the attic "to build a love nest." At the time she didn't say why the hole was there, but several days later she told me that the principal had fallen through the ceiling. It seems that while he was trying to catch some of the students, he stepped on a weak section of the ceiling and fell fifteen feet into the room below.

The few delinquents at Chilocco give the whole school a "reform school atmosphere." A small number of the students are sent there because they can't get along anywhere else. These students force the administration to be very strict with rules and regulations. As a result, many teachers catagorize all the students as delinquent cases and treat them as such. It is no wonder that the students have little to say in class when they are thought of as "poor, ignorant, Indian juvenile delinquents". Of course they only worsen their plight when they don't express themselves and exert their own personalities in class, but most of them firmly believe that nothing they do will help them so they say nothing. There seems to be a stigma attached to speaking in class, and they would rather remain quiet than be disliked by their follow students.

They seem to have lost faith in people. They have stopped believing that Chilocco or any BIA institutions can really help them. They don't bother to discipline themselves because they have learned that the aggressive, self-disciplined person will go no further than the person that stands around the BIA agency waiting for a hand-out. They, therefore, have developed no character of their own. They become a shiftless, flexible, parasitic piece of humanity with no more moral fiber than a geranium.

In a public school situation there is not only response from the students, but there is also either direct or indirect response from the parents and the community as a whole. If the teacher says something that the students don't agree with, the students usually express their disagreement. If they disagree violently enough they inform their parents of the teacher's behavior, and community pressure causes the problem to be investigated. This feed-back from the students and the parents is an important part of learning. It doesn't allow the teacher to go off the deep end in any area. But it is not only important for the students' benefit but also for the teacher's benefit. These checks and balances of the community not only point out the bad teachers but they also point out the good teachers. The students, the parents, and finally the school administration know who the good teachers are.

At Chilocco, however, there is none of this classroom or community feedback. The bad teachers are never criticized and the good teachers are never praised. After awhile even the most dedicated get a "what's the use?" attitude. They lose confidence in themselves and more than a few develop neurotic symptoms. They do things that would be considered "sick'" in a public school situation. One of the teachers told her practice teacher "not to touch any of the students." She said that they carry all sorts of diseases and one should wash his hands after touching them. Another of the teachers, who is terrified that the students will get out of control, gave a fifteen minute lecture saying that there is no discrimination in the world and asked the students how they could think such a thing. Another of the teachers, as do several others, speaks in a very loud over-compensating voice. He came into my room several times while the students were studying and yelled at me in conversation over a distance of twenty or thirty feet.

I am not saying by any means that the problems of Chilocco can be attributed to the teachers. A large percentage of these teachers would do an adequate or more than adequate job in the public schools. Most have taught in public schools at one time or another and have a good record. What I am trying to say is that the whole system at Chilocco is at fault. As one of the teachers told me, "You can't change Chilocco, but Chilocco can sure change you." I say without hesitation that most of the teachers came to Chilocco because of humanitarian reasons. They saw the pitiful situation and truly wanted to help, but after months of rejection and failure they either quit or they began looking at it as an eight to five job with no obligation to their students.

I think that too often the students are not allowed to compete in the world outside of Chilocco. I talked to the band director, Jerry McCulley, and he said that he would like to take the band on more trips to compete with other bands, but he said that it wasn't the policy of the school. He said that the superintendent, Dr. Wall, has limited the trips because "he didn't want the students to look bad." The band members are not up to par with some of the surrounding public schools and Dr. Wall apparently doesn't want to see them hurt if they are defeated. Mr. McCulley who is a very capable band director says that a realistic defeat now and then might be good for them. Dr. Wall may not want to hurt the students but he is doing them a greater injustice by not letting them compete.

The annual achievement tests give an indication of the effectiveness of Chilocco on the students' education. Granted, many of these students are put there because they have not done well in public schools but many are very intelligent and have just not had a pleasant and school experience. The California Achievement Tests are given to the students every year. Of the twelfth grade students, those who should have benefited the most from Chilocco, only six of two hundred are above the national average. Most have a test average three or four grades below the national average. It's hard to believe that four years at boarding school produces no better than a twelfth grade student with a seventh or eighth grade academic mentality.

I've done a lot of criticizing of the school but I haven't offered any solutions. Considering the heterogeneous mixture of backgrounds and cultures, I don't think that a federal boarding school is the answer at all. The administration at Chilocco is for the most part made up of dedicated people who do what they can. Many of the teachers are also dedicated and they would be excellent teachers under other circumstances. Money isn't the problem because money is poured unrelentlessly into new buildings and facilities. But I think that considering the different backgrounds and abilities of the students, all the good intensions and money in the world couldn't change things.

I think that sending the students to boarding schools within fifty or one hundred miles of their homes would be more reasonable. This way the children would be closer to the people they understand. They could be with their families on important days such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. They would be going to school not only with American Indians but with "American Whites." They wouldn't be indiscriminately lumped together under the vague heading of "American Indian," but they would be put with children of their own ability and background. Chilocco was a noble idea and years ago when most of the students were from Oklahoma it was a good idea; but it is just too much to expect a child from a remote Indian village to become Americanized into middle class standards so far from his family and the things he loves. The only result is that he regresses further into his shell and finally gives up hope that anyone really understands or wants to help him.

REPORT TO INDIAN EDUCATION SUB-COMMITTEE, FROM OKLAHOMANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY, JANUARY 21, 1969

It is fairly safe to say that, almost without exception, the educational situation for an Indian student in the schools of northwest Oklahoma is deplorable. Going to school in towns like Seiling, Geary, Canton, and Watonga is generally a frightening, crushing ordeal which leaves the Indian student with a bad self-image, little genuine self-respect, and usually no motivation to continue his education. The effects of the long-standing conditions we will outline here can only be seen in terms of unhappy, unproductive lives, but one statistic may be able to sum it all up. In a study conducted in Blaine County in 1966, the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission found that 71.2% of the 269 Indians who were interviewed were unemployed; the median family income of those who were unemployed was $847. These figures speak for themselves. It should also be obvious that there is a closer connection between these figures and the nature of the school experience in northwest Oklahoma.

Although it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate dropout and graduation figures from the schools, we know that the dropout rate is very high. In Canton, for example, no more than 10 Indians have graduated from the high school since 1951. In Geary, where the Indian enrollment in the elementary school ranges from 15 to 25 in each class, there was one Indian high-school graduate in 1967 (she was the class salutatorian), one in 1968, and with luck there will be two in 1969. Seiling High School averages one Indian graduate every two years, and those who graduate are usually athletes befriended by a football coach who in casual conversation has made clear his dislike of Indian people in general.

The pattern is disturbingly similar in every town in the area. In the grade school years the children of both races get on fairly well: they can be seen playing with one another in the school playgrounds and sitting next to each other in the classroom. When they reach junior high school, though, the non-Indian youngsters seem to pick up the habits of their parents. Indian and non-Indian grow further apart, non-Indian boys make obscene remarks about the Indian girls, and by the eighth grade the lines are fairly well drawn. It is no mere coincidence that the eighth grade is precisely the point at which the Indian dropout problem really begins; from that time on the Indian student is increasingly aware of the hostility directed towards him by his fellow students. After one sees all children playing together in grade schools, it can be rather disconcerting to go next door to eat in a high school cafeteria and see all the Indian students grouped together at a table in the corner. Those who make it through the 10th grade usually have developed enough emotional armor plate to see them through the rest of high school, but that in no way means that they are happily integrated into school life.

Until the advent of the OIO Youth Councils, Indian high school students rarely participated in any extracurricular activities. Their schoolmates make it clear in subtle and unsubtle ways that the Indian students are not wanted in school clubs, and there are even cases in which Indian athletes have been excluded. (Atheletes are normally treated better than the other Indian students, but there can be ironic twists: in Geary, for example, one boy saw that the principal was treating him better than the other Indian students solely because he played football and basketball, and abruptly quit the football team. He has had to suffer a great deal of abuse from the principal.) The basis of a lifetime of non-participation and apathy is firmly established in the school years—for those few who finish as well as for the vast majority who don't.

One might well ask what the school officials are doing about this situation. The answer, unfortunately, is that in general they are party to the gradual destruction of the Indian students' self-image. There have been almost no Indian teachers in any of the schools in northwest Oklahoma, although one school board member in Geary claims that he would like to have some. The non-Indian teachers, some of whom have worked with Indian students for years, usually are sadly lacking in even the most elementary understanding of or respect for the Indian students. A non-Indian youth worker from OIO has heard nearly every school principal and counselor tell him why "their" Indians are no good. A counselor at Kingfisher will say, for example, that Cheyennes and Arapahos are untrustworthy and stupid and that nobody can do anything for them—although of course he's tried his best. A teacher at Seiling will make crude remarks about a pretty Indian girl. A principal at Watonga who is trying to convince you that he is doing a great deal for "my little Indian buddies" will say after an hour of self-exoneration that "to tell you the truth, our Indians are even worse than our coloreds and the best you can do is just leave them alone." (Why, one might ask, are they always "our" Indians and never "our" white people?) There are exceptions, of course—the new principal at Seiling is one—but in general the teachers and administrators in the schools of northwest Oklahoma seem incapable of treating the Indian students as sensitive human beings with the same needs and desires that non-Indian people have.

The unsubtle racism of the schools plagues the Indian child from the day he enters, but more overt incidents are not uncommon. In Canton, for example, we have documented instances of physical punishment and harrassment directed against Indian students. An eighth-grade teacher yanked two Indian girls by the hair for being disorderly; in another incident, reported in The Daily Oklahoman of March 22, 1969, a girl named Alena Scabbyhorse was violently pushed by a teacher just for fun. Nothing was done. In Geary, when a couple of Indian students were caught sniffing glue, the school naturally assumed that *all* Indian students were doing it and disciplined them as a group. It is no wonder, then, that the accumulated hidden and overt pressures will drive all but the most highly motivated Indian students away from school before their junior year in high school. In one extreme case, a boy who was something of a model student went beserk one day about two months ago and screamed wildly about his school; he is now receiving psychiatric treatment at Fort Supply.

The school officials generally refuse to admit that problems exist or, when they cannot deny a specific event, they try to pass it off as nothing to get upset about. For example, last school year the bus driver in the Canton school district forced the Indian students to give up their seats to the white youngsters. The effect of this on the Indians' place in school life is obvious, but the school refused to do anything about it. They intimidated parents who tried to complain about it and claimed for several months that nothing was really happening. This year they finally forced the bus driver to discontinue his curious practice, but they have done nothing about his leading the white youngsters in insult sessions against the Indian children. The school may only think it is protecting itself; when one sees a little girl come home in tears saying she'll never go on that school bus again one wonders at what cost.

The State Education Department's Indian division is supposedly responsible for alleviating some of the worst problems, but their efforts often seem quite ineffective. They hired an Indian man to work with the "truants" in the northwest area, assuming that an Indian would understand his own people. What this gentleman does, though, is to go to people's houses to intimidate the youngsters who are not coming to school—often because they can't afford supplies or decent clothes—and he has told several adults that he may soon institute a policy of putting all truants in jail so he can transport them to school each morning and take them back each night. (A truant officer in the area two years ago tried to institute this policy of enlightened educational administration but fortunately was prevented from doing so by OIO and residents of the towns.) The school officials, needless to say, love their Indian truant officer, especially since he runs away whenever a parent presents a complaint. The Indian man, by the way, supplements a regular truant officer who used to call himself a "professional squaw-chaser" and boasts about how many "Injuns" he "got" in a day.

Although it is difficult to get any specific information from school officials on exact amounts, it seems quite clear to us that money which is supposed to be used for the Indian children in the schools is not being used for their benefit. Because the stipulations on how funds are to be used are not stringent enough, money from Title I, AFDC, and Johnson-O'Malley usually goes to the school as a whole. When the principal at Watonga was asked what was happening to the funds specifically designated to be used for the Indian students, he replied that "it all comes out in the wash". What happens in that wash can be illustrated by an incident in Seiling two years ago, when the school used its funds to build a reading laboratory for seniors. Since there are rarely any Indian seniors at Seiling it is clear that this laboratory was not going to do the Indian students very much good. We strongly urge that the Subcommittee make recommendations to the appropriate Federal authorities that adequate safeguards be written into all grants to schools to insure that the Indian students are getting what they so urgently need. We have no objection to the good use to which most schools put their funds (they are rarely wasted), but it does seem that money coming into the school because of its Indian students should be spent on those students.

A logical question to ask at this point is: Why don't the parents do anything about the conditions in their schools? To begin with, most of the problems result from the *attitudes* of teachers, principals, and non-Indian students and normally do not take the form of easily provable incidents. It is difficult in this report, for example, to convey in specific terms just how demoralizing the day-to-day life in a northwest Oklahoma school can be for an Indian student. But there is a deeper reason for the silence of the Indian parents. They are often uneducated and poor (with 71% of the people in Blaine county unemployed that fact must be immediately apparent), and the parents are often in awe of the teachers. They often know little about what is happening in the schools; when they try to find out they are often intimidated by fast-talking, condescending school people who lead them to blame whatever problems their children are having on the children themselves. Furthermore, when a person is as poor as many of the Indian people in northwest Oklahoma are, it is awfully difficult to spend much time worrying about schools and why children are dropping out. This, of course, just perpetuates the poverty cycle.

The teachers realize that Indian parents are very uninvolved with their childrens' education, but they tend to write it off as just another Indian stereotype. They know full well that the parents will rarely come to them; however, they almost never take the initiative in establishing contact with the parents. Parent-teacher associations are unheard of, and the Indian parents are effectively excluded from participation in their childrens' education. This lack of participation simply permits things to go on as they have for years.

We have given only the sketchiest idea of what it is like to go to school in northwest Oklahoma, partly because we have had very little time to prepare this report and partly because we haven't the resources on short notice for an in-depth statistical survey. But what we have presented here comes from close, daily contact with the *people* who live in the area; what they have to say and the way they say it is more indicative of what the situation is than any statistics could be. It may be that no mere report can convey just what things are like: as Mrs. Viola Hatch, (a woman who has lived in Canton most of her life and is so vocal about the situation there that the superintendent has forbidden her to enter the school) has said, "You have to be Indian to know just how terrible it is." But anyone who spends even a few days in northwest Oklahoma can see that very few Indian young people are finishing school; that those who do have to wall themselves off emotionally; that Indian students are systematically excluded from all phases of school life; that the teachers and administrators are insensitive to the needs of the Indian students; and that countless young people are bombed out and without hope by the time they are 15.

It seems to us that the Subcommittee should devote some of its time and resources to examining and publicizing in depth the school conditions in northwest Oklahoma: systematic studies should be conducted and the results should be made extremely public. There may be no language problem for most of the people in northwest Oklahoma, but the real poverty is as real as in the eastern part of the state. The schools in northwest Oklahoma destroy their Indian students and in some cases do little more than give the people who run pool halls and sell beer a little more business.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DONALD WANATEE, SECRETARY, MESQUAKIE TRIBAL COUNCIL, TAMA, IOWA

The Mesquakies entered white man's history in 1636 when the first Frenchmen came upon them. At that time they numbered 2,000 and were living in Green Bay, Wisconsin. During the next 100 years there was a general shifting of Indian tribes due to the settlement of the whites on the East Coast. The Mesquakies, not given to subservience, were involved in a series of disastrous wars of their French and Indian allies, and at one time they were reduced to only a few families in number; however, they regained a foothold by the time America came on the scene, and their numbers had returned to their original 2000. In 1734, the tribes made political alliance with the Sac and this alliance remained in force for some 100 years although the two tribes continued to remain separate camps. After the American Revolution, pressure of settlers began steadily to increase and the Mesquakies and Sacs moved south and west along the Mississippi River. At the beginning of the Black Hawk War in 1831, the Mesquakies moved across the Mississippi into Iowa. In 1842, the Indian Removal Act was passed and the combined Sac and Fox tribes were moved to Kansas. A considerable number eluded the army and remained in Iowa. During their stay in Iowa, they established villages where several of the large cities of Iowa now stand. In Kansas, in 1856, the Mesquakies, Fox (and Sac) tribes came to an open split over the issues of the acculturation.

Attempts were made by the government agent to encourage white agriculture techniques by alloting the reservation lands to the individual. The Mesquakies, led by the village chief, Maminiwanige, who had not been recognized by the Government, consistently opposed the division of the lands. When the opposition proved to be of no avail they moved from the reservation. Under the leadership of Maminiwanige, a band of five Mesquakie members sent back to the former homelands in Iowa for a place to live. A sum of money was raised from this sale of ponies and 80 acres of timberland were purchased on the Iowa River. Mesquakies who had earlier separated from the tribe had never left Iowa, now rejoined this group, and the Mesquakies in Kansas also joined the group a few at a time. In 1856, a resolution was passed by the Iowa legislature permitting the Mesquakies to reside in the State of Iowa so long as they remained at peace. However, they were treated as renegades by the Federal Government and no annuities were paid to them until 11 years later when, by an Act of Congress, they were granted pro rata shares of the annuities of the United Sac and Fox tribes and an agent was appointed to pay these annuities. However, legal jurisdiction and trusteeship over these lands were still held by the State of Iowa. The State of Iowa stayed well apart from tribal affairs and passed a statute exempting the lands from school taxes but allowing for the collection of other property taxes. During this absence of Federal administration, the Mesquakies were effectively self-governing, and relationships with whites were largely on an individual plan.

In 1881, Maminiwanige, the old chief, dies and was replaced by Pushetonequa by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The son and heir of the former chief was set aside as too young and incompetent to inherit the chieftainship.

In 1896, trusteeship of the tribal lands was turned over to the Federal Government by the State of Iowa. The State retained the right to establish highways and levy taxes. This transfer of authority to the Federal Government brought about a significant change in the position of the Mesquakies. Previously they were free to accept or reject elements of white culture but now they found themselves in a position of definite subordination to the power of the Federal agent. In 1897, the Bureau of Indian Affairs built at Toledo, Iowa, a boarding school for the Mesquakie children. The Mesquakies resisted this effort for education in the white man's way. The children were then taken from their parents and forcibly sent to the boarding school. The children ran away from the school and parents were threatened with court action. The Mesquakies ran the rounds of the courts and it was found that the children could not be placed in the boarding school without guardian consent.

When this failed, another tack was taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The chieftain was invited to Washington to discuss the issue and tribal tradition has that he was forcibly held until he consented to use his influence to enroll the children in the boarding school. Eventually, the Mesquakies had their way and the school was closed down because of lack of support. Later the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened an Indian Day School on the Settlement for the children. There appeared to be more support for the educational endeavors at this time. In 1937, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed the day school to begin construction of a new building. The surrounding towns did not want the Indian children in their school systems, so for a period of three years the Mesquakie withheld their children to force the building of a school on the Settlement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1940, the school was opened for grades one through eight. The children that attended high school generally went to boarding schools because of the problem in the local institutions.

In 1954, the Bureau of Indian Affairs without tribal consent or knowledge contracted with the State Department of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa to have the State operate the Indian Day School. The Tribal Council at that point protested and the contract was voided by the State of Iowa on the grounds that the Mesquakies had no been consulted. In 1956, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed grades seven and eight on the Settlement. The children in grades seven and eight then attended the Tama community school.

In 1961, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, without the knowledge of the Mesquakie tribe, contracted with the South Tama Community School District to educate the Indian children. About 1964, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed grade six at the Indian Day School. In 1967, half of the fifth grade was then sent to surrounding schools.

On February 10, 1966, a special meeting was held with the Tama County School Board in order to discuss possible future programs in regards to education. There were only three Tribal Council members present. The school board was represented by Mr. Leland, Superintendent, Mr. Heller, Mr. Bachman, Mr. Broshar, Mr. Winters, and Miss Jacobson, secretary; from the Minneapolis Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs there were Mr. Brady, Education Specialist, Mr. McKay, and Mr. Lundeen, Department of Education, from the Washington office of the Bureau. Also present was a representative of the Iowa Department of Public Instruction, Mr. Miller. Mr. Lundeen told of what financial assistance was given to the South Tama School District by the Federal Government in behalf of Indian students. He said that tuition costs are paid by the Government for each Indian student in attendance. Mr. Brady suggested that the Tama Tribal Council pass a resolution to request the State Legislature in Des Moines to ask for the sum of $200,000 from the Federal Government for the purpose of helping in the funding of a new South Tama Community School building. One of the Council Members spoke against doing this as it might open up final termination of all Federal services to the Tribe. Mr. Brady suggested that this could not happen if the Mesquakies followed the procedure he suggested and if there is fear of the terminal clause a special provision could be inserted into the resolution to assure that it could not happen. Mr. Lundeen gave his firm assurance that termination would not be given to the Indian Day School unless the Indian people themselves desired to have it closed. General discussion followed and the meeting was adjourned.

On October 24, 1967, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Tama County Welfare Board and members of the School Board attended a meeting with three Council Members. This was to announce to the Mesquakie people the transfer of students to the public school system by the fall of 1968. Mr. Brady was asked what authority he had to effect the transfer for the Indian children to the public school system. He stated that he did not need authority, that he could terminate the Indian school any time he felt like it. He also added that the Mesquakie Indians could be terminated "tomorrow". On October 25, 1967, the Assistant Area Director in Education met with the South Tama Community School Board to affect the transfer and termination of the Sac and Fox Indian Day School. Unfortunately, the Education Officer was killed in an airplane accident six miles north of Toledo as he was going back to Minnesota.

Subsequent meetings were held by the Assistant Area Director with the Mesquakie people and the objectives established by the Minneapolis Area Office in the transferral-termination of the Indian Day School.

On July 26, 1968, a special Tribal Council meeting was assembled and went on record as being diametrically opposed to the closing of the Sac and Fox Indian Day School, Sac and Fox Settlement, Tama, Iowa.

In another special Council meeting, August 2, 1968, the Tribal Council urged a boycott of the public schools in grades one through five. The boycott was generally effective and very few Mesquakie children in grades one through five attended South Tama Community Schools.

The first week of September, a plea for injunction against the closing of the Day School was filed in Federal Court. On September 28, a consent decree was entered into by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, South Tama School District, and the Mesquakie Tribal Council ordering the Indian Day School opened by October 30, 1968. The school was re-opened with three temporary teachers who have now been replaced by permanent teachers. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Tribal Council were ordered to prepare a plan for final settlement of the school issue by February 28, 1969. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has refused to cooperate in this endeavor. In December, 1968, the Bureau of Indian Affairs filed a motion to dismiss this suit for lack of jurisdiction of the Federal courts. On January 7, 1969, a hearing was held on the motion but no decision has been made. On January 20, the Mesquakie Tribal Council began preparation of an educational program to submit to the U.S. District Court. This program calls for Mesquakie operation of a school on the Settlement including grades kindergarten through ninth grade for next year and for the forseeable future thereafter. It seems to the Indians that the officials are undecided as to their present national policy of terminating all Indian schools in the USA. However, it has been the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to call meetings and to effect their decisions contrary to due process. The Mesquakies still contend that the people have an original right to establish for their future self-government such principles as in their own opinions and thoughts that shall be conducive to their welfare and well being. The rejection of such a criterion does not confine itself to the Mesquakie Indian Settlement, but rather may be applied to the local, State, or Federal governments of the Nation which places the governmental system of America in a very interesting point of view.

A Personal Evaluation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

(By Nancy Avery*)

1 year BIA school—Narojo

The recent rhetoric of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is very similar to that of the Peace Corps. Both seek to serve; both seek to learn. But the differences in the organizations grow as they try to transform the rhetoric into reality. The Peace Corps, though sometimes naive and amateurish, is committed to serve a host country's needs with respect and drive. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, through mismanagement, ethnocentricism and most important, lack of commitment and understanding by administrative personnel perpetuates a repressive, culture bound and essentially colonial bureaucracy which will continue to destroy human lives until it is drastically reorganized.

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*Two years in Peace Corps in Africa; 1 year—BIA school—Navajo.

Although the Peace Corps has a few people who should not be in it, they are rare and are constantly being weeded out. On the other hand, the Bureau's system of tenure provides lifelong security so that such individuals flourish in it.

Peace Corps has a selection process based on a trainee's ability to function in the host country. On the other hand, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has no such selection program and will allow anyone to work who appears to be qualified according to forms which are required for other unrelated civil service jobs.

Only some of the personnel receive any type of orientation program and these are very ethnocentric judging from the one which I attended last August at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. One of the ten days was devoted to the Navajo culture and included tribal leaders and Navajo food, but little attention was given to the values and lives of the ordinary Navajo. The culture was glanced at politically (with pro-Bureau of Indian Affairs tribal leaders) and appreciatively as creative for making silver and turquoise jewelry and sheepskin rugs. Only scant mention was made of social customs and they were not gone into in any depth. Two hours were set aside for learning some Navajo. Otherwise, the orientation program was primarily concerned with learning about the various agencies within the Bureau and with teaching English as a second language. The latter is most definitely necessary, but needs to be accompanied with an understanding of the Indian culture since one cannot possibly be an effective teacher otherwise. These programs should be improved and then required for all new personnel. Also, they should be led by Indians rather than mainly by whites as mine was.

While the Peace Corps has the same problems as an bureaucracy, it is still far less bureaucratic than the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Peace Corps Volunteers sometimes wait months for supplies to arrive, however, they expect this to happen. On the other hand, the Bureau is part of a very wealthy government and yet schools are often without supplies and repairs for months because of the channels one must go through to obtain them.

The Peace Corps staff is there to help Peace Corps Volunteers be as capable as possible and will not interfere unless a Volunteer really gets himself into trouble. On the other hand, the Bureau of Indian Affairs teacher receives absolutely no support from the staff and is watched over only in a negative manner and is given no freedom to be an individual.

Finally, and probably most important, the Peace Corps' goal is to eventually phase itself out of each country and each Volunteer is supposed to do what he can to prevent the host country individuals from becoming dependent on him and instead he tries to create more independence. On the other hand, the Bureau of Indian Affairs fosters dependency and so brainwashes the people that they cannot get along without it psychologically nor physically either since it is often their only means of livelihood. Furthermore, it is dominated by leeches who are only in it for the money and who have no interest in their jobs beyond following the rules so that they may eventually be rewarded with a higher G-S rating.

THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

First of all, the lack of selection and the tenure system has caused a predominance of poor administrators and teachers who are at least ethnocentric. For example, teachers have made such statements as, "Look at those primitive people." "They're like children you know" and "Watch out! They'll steal everything you have."

Then there is the principal of Hote Villa on the Hopi reservation who lived there ten years without knowing who the chief was and had never been in the village.

And teachers at Pinon voted for George Wallace.

My principal is the most outstanding example. "All Indians are brain-damaged." "The Navajo culture belongs in a museum." And talking to a teacher, "Think of yourself as a father to them." He was referring to adult Navajos.

Of course every official statement I have seen from Graham Holmes and every white official who spoke at the orientation program was concerned that the Indian eventually become like a white man; few people in the Bureau seem to doubt that the latter has found the only good life.

The administration is corrupt, backward and inefficient. For one thing, there is no support of the teachers. When I entered the Bureau of Indian Affairs, I asked to teach upper elementary since that was the level of my experience and undergraduate training. I was given Beginners, then ignored until March (as were the other teachers in my school) when the educational specialist finally observed me. Because of his delayed follow-up and lack of suggestions, I concluded that he was one of those uninterested employees. Anyway, I undoubtedly made many mistakes as a new teacher at this level which could have been avoided if I had been given any guidance. My principal, unqualified as he was, waited until March when he observed with the specialist.

Furthermore, progressive education is discouraged and teachers are told to teach only according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs manual and not go beyond it or try out anything new. My principal told me, "Do not experiment with Low Mountain school children." He was referring to my using the Sylvia Ashton-Warner method of beginning reading which I started with my exceptional class after an extensive reading-readiness program. Both he and the education specialist forbade me to continue with an arithmetic program my six year olds were eagerly participating in. I was not to go beyond the Beginners' goals which meant only counting to ten. At the time I was stopped, my slow group could work and understand simple addition and subtraction and my fast group could work and understand more difficult problems. In each case, I made certain that each child understood all steps leading up to each level and there was no pressure on the children. That was in December. Thanks to the administration, the children were nearer the Beginner goals by the end of school.

An example of inefficiency is that we had no drawing paper or ditto paper for half the year. In spite of the fact that these children speak little or no English, we had only lined paper, crayons and pencils to work with. In spite of the fact that these children are only six and seven years old and must stay in school from nine to four, we had no toys for them.

Another more shocking example is when last winter several of us (including two concerned Navajos) complained about the near-by bridge because the ground around it was washing away and the children's buses passed over this bridge twice a day. A week later, someone threw more dirt around it as an ineffective sop.

All of us teachers were janitors as well since no replacement was hired after ours quit in November. Moreover, the kindergarten teacher was also forced to be a bus driver as well since none was hired for him. Lives were played with again when this teacher kept asking the principal for a new vehicle since his was about to fall literally apart and he was afraid some children could even be killed. The principal refused to correct this situation.

An example of corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the politics played by the administrators with each other and with the people. In the former case, they so obviously talk and act with a mind only to impress their supervisors. My principal said, "Put up your charts because this is what the official visitors look for." And until after an event where he attacked a teacher for not dressing professionally, our supervisor only wore suits when he knew "an official visitor" was on his way. He also said, "Don't complain to official visitors; they know your problems better than you do." There was a time when our freedom of speech was essentially removed by threats of being "written-up" or even fired if we did not suppress our thoughts concerning the Bureau of Indian Affairs around influential people.

Also, our principal ingratiated himself into the community in order to create a power base from which he could effectively maintain his position against the young teachers all of whom were in disagreement with him. He did this by such means as allotting some of the children's recreation funds to the dorm staff for a private party. Then when one of the teachers, who had been authorized by the principal to do so, used some of this money for spending money for his children on a field trip, the principal told the school board that this teacher had stolen it and he encouraged them to write his future employer and tell him this so that he would not be hired. He also told the board to remember that it was "their idea."

He also told the school board that we were too young and inexperienced and that they would be better off with a more mature staff next year. It was difficult to teach when confidence in us was undermined in such a manner.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has effectively brainwashed the Navajo people and has made them almost totally dependent on it.

They have a choice of leaving home and families to work outside of the reservation or staying and working for the government. The latter means they have no right to strike and so must work at any job regardless of pay and conditions and under supervisors who are usually non-interested whites. It also means many of them are subject to furlough each summer. Those in this position are without work all summer and yet are tied to their ungrateful employer since they must have the job back in the fall. Most of these jobs are held by Indians. While plant management overflows with supervisers who are not subject to furlough.

They are also called dumb Indians in both such terms and slightly more subtle ones. Their language is obviously believed irrelevant since they are instructed only in English and often discouraged from speaking Navajo. Their reading books are from the white suburbs. Their goals are assumed to be the same as middle-class whites. They are shunned because many are high school drop-outs and alcoholics; no attempt is made to look at the causes most of which stem from the pressure of the dominant society and the frustrations of living in an unfree community.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has so brainwashed these people that many will stand with it because they are afraid to risk a different organization which they think would understand them less and because change of any sort is fearful to an insecure people. Therefore, the Indians grow poorer and politically weaker while those who live off them grow fat and secure.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has a questionable system of priorities. It continues to spend money on numerous useless administrative meeting instead of field trips for the children. It builds large boarding schools instead of paving roads.

Many of the roads are often impassable during the winter. For one thing, this makes it impossible for people to reach a hospital even in an emergency. Even the main road between Low Mountain School and the nearest hospital is unpaved.

When not passable many children miss several days of school a year because of this. Others are stuck in the dorm on weekends when they might not otherwise be. Most important, there are many children in boarding schools who would not otherwise be.

Finally, I think one of the most mind and soul destroying situations in the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the boarding schools. Of course they should not exist at all. Modern psychology does not support the idea that a child can grow up emotionally stable if he has neither parent nor parent-substitute. A few untrained staff caring for many children in a barren dorm make the children no better off than orphans. Bunk beds are lined up in a long room with not even individual drawers for each child. No toys, no books, no television. No staff member trained to deal with the situation—so no games. Children lined up half an hour before each meal and expected to stand or sit quietly. No one trained in giving first aide. No one giving special care and attention to a sick child. No supervisors checking on the situation or trying to do anything about it. This was the situation at Low Mountain.

Then a Navajo friend referred to the dorm situation at Keams Canyon when she was there about ten years ago. In addition to the above, teenage girls were allowed showers twice a week. At this time they had to check-in all of their clothes to an attendant before entering the shower room and reclaim them afterwards. She was also punished for saying "ouch" in Navajo. That was ten years ago and I do not have recent facts, but the same head dorm attendent is still there and judging by other situations in the Bureau, I would not be surprised if it had not changed. I doubt if any administrator even knows one way or the other.

I do know that all boarding schools at best do not permit children to have normal family lives. Even five and six year olds are expected to live like Spartans in these prison walls. And school is mandatory. And their parents have no choice.

Until these schools can be abolished, they should be made as homelike as possible. Rough Rock Demonstration School has parents living in its dorms on a rotation basis. The rooms are decorated and partitions make them look less like barracks. The importance of a happy life after school is also recognized and games and crafts are played and taught. The school makes an effort to have the children go home as often as possible. Although boarding schools are undesirable in any form, they can at least be improved upon as Rough Rock has shown.

In conclusion, I must say that my year's experience with the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been extremely frustrating. I do not see how anyone who agrees with the rhetoric of the Bureau can function within it when he has to constantly battle with or give way to the administrators who do not. Finally, I wish to express my sympathy for the Indian people who cannot leave it as I have but who must continue to work for it or starve and who must continue to send their children to its schools since they have no choice. It is living in such a hopeless environment that causes people to be so mal-adjusted that over half of them leave school unfinished; many turn to alchohol as an escape; and too many seek death as a release from their unhappy existence.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR INDIAN AMERICANS, BY DR. A. SORKIN, ECONOMIST, WASHINGTON, D.C.

INDIAN EDUCATION, POLICIES AND PROBLEMS*

This chapter will focus on some of the leading issues in Indian education: the educational achievement of Indian children, the type of education available to secondary school students and adults, and manpower problems in the schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

For more than three centuries Indian education in the United States was largely under the direction of missionaries.[1] As early as 1568, the Jesuit Fathers organized a school at Havana Cuba, for Indian children from Florida.

Many of the treaties between the United States and Indian tribes provided for the establishment of schools for Indian children. Congress also provided schools for Indian children when other educational facilities were not available. In 1842, there were 37 Indian schools in operation and by 1881 the number had increased to 106. Because it was believed that the best way to assimilate Indian children into the dominant culture was by removing them from their environment, most Indian children were placed in boarding schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, located both on and off the reservation. In 1928, the Meriam Report exposed many of the bad conditions at the boarding schools such as use of outmoded teaching methods, primitive housing facilities for the students, staff cruelties toward the Indians and the fact that small malnourished children were force to work half a day in laundries or the school kitchens.[2]

Following the publication of the Meriam report, some improvements in the conditions of boarding schools occurred largely as the result of increased appropriations by Congress. Also, increasing numbers of children were being taught in small day schols located in their own communities. With the passage of the Johnson O'Malley Act in 1934, contracts could be made with public school districts for the education of Indian children. Thus, in some states with relatively large Indian populations, all of the children are in public schools.

Table 5-1 indicates the distribution of Indian children by type of school for 1966.

In spite of the long standing Bureau of Indian Affairs policy of attempting to place as many Indian in public schools as possible, 33 percent of all reservation Indian children attended federal schools, 6 percent mission or other private schools, and 61 percent public schools in 1966 (see Table 5-1). This was not markedly different from the distribution in 1930, when 52 percent attended public schools, 37 percent attended federal schools and 11 percent attended mission schools.

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF INDIAN CHILDREN

The gerat bulk of research indicates that the educational achievement of Indian students is roughly comparable to non-Indians for the first few grades of school. Then, somewhere between the fourth and seventh grades, the achievement scores for Indian children fall below the national norms and continue their relative decline progressively through high school. This phenomenon has been called the crossover effect.[3] The most recent large scale study confirming the crossover

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*The views expressed in this study are those of the author and are not represented as the views of the staff members, officers or trustees of The Brookings Institution.

[1] For a thorough, but somewhat dated history of Indian education see, Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education, Government Schools and Economic Progress* (Kings Crown Press, 1946).

[2] Lewis Meriam, *et al.*, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), especially Chapter IX.

[3] Harry L. Saslow and May J. Hanover, "Psychosocial Adjustment of Indian Youth," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 125, No. 2 (August 1968), p. 123. For some recent studies of the crossover effect see M. V. Zizty, "The Indian Research Study, Final Report" (Albuquerque-New Mexico College of Education, 1960; processed), and S. Rosenberg, "Achievement Test Score Results for Albuquerque Indian Regular School Program," (1965; processed).

TABLE 5-1.—ANNUAL SCHOOL CENSUS REPORT OF INDIAN CHILDREN 6 TO 18, 1966

Type of school	Number	Percent
Public [1]	86,827	61.4
Federal schools	46,154	32.5
Day [2]	18,559	13.1
Boarding	27,595	19.4
Mission and other schools	8,713	6.1
Total all schools	141,694	100.0
Number not enrolled	7,757	
Information not available	2,663	
Over 18 in school	9,401	
All ages total in school	151,095	

[1] Includes 3,972 children who live in Federal dormitories and attend public schools.
[2] Includes 232 children receiving instruction in hospitals.

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Statistics Concerning Indian Education, 1966" (Haskell Press, 1966) p. 9.

effect vis a vis Indian children was contained in the Coleman Report. These data indicate that while the grade level equivalent differences between the achievement level of Indian and white students on the various tests ranged from 1.7 to 2.1 years when the students were in the sixth grade, the differences varied between 3.0 and 4.0 years when the students were in the 12th grade.[4] (See Appendix C.)

Because most of the research concerned with educational achievement of Indian children has been done by psychologists and educators, explanations of the progressive educational retardation of Indian children have been discussed in terms of the concepts developed by those disciplines. Thus educators seem to favor hypotheses emphasizing early preparation, home background, parental support and classroom procedures. Mental health personnel tend to emphasize psychosocial factors. For example Spilka and Bryde in a study of 105 Ogala Sioux students found that alienation and its components were negatively and significantly related to achievement scores on the Iowa Test of Educational Achievement; these relationships increased with grade level reaching a maximum in the 12th grade.[5]

Moreover, Anderson et al. found that the rank of performance (by agency area) was positively associated with the rank (by agency area) of the following: (1) Percentage of children usually speaking English as a pre-school language; (2) educational level of mother; and (3) percentage of half blood Indians. Relative performance on achievement tests was negatively associated with: (1) Percentage of children usually speaking an Indian dialect as a preschool language; (2) percentage of full blood Indians; and (3) percentage of children having all Indian friends.[6] These relationships were stronger for the 12th grade as compared to 8th grade students.

It appears that previous investigators have ignored the association between poverty and school achievement. There are several reasons to believe that poverty is associated with poor performance, especially on Indian reservations. First, families with very low incomes generally have inadequate housing. Indian homes are more often than not crowded one or two room shacks with no room for study or to do homework.[7] Many lack electricity so that studying would have to be done by candlelight or kerosene lamp. Moreover, the further along the student progresses in school, the more home work and outside study is required. Thus a student living in this impoverished environment falls further and further behind the national norms.

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[4] It is important to note that Indian high school seniors are a somewhat *select* group since 50 percent of all Indian high school students drop out before graduation (mostly in the 9th and 10th grades).

[5] B. Spilka and J. F. Bryde, "Alienation and Achievement Among Ogala Sioux Secondary Students" (1966; processed).

[6] Kenneth E. Anderson, E. Gordon Collister, and Carl W. Ladd, *The Educational Achievement of Indian Children,* U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (1953), pp. 47–60.

[7] According to a 1966 study by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 75 percent of the homes on Indian reservations are substandard with 54 percent beyond repair. For further information see U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Housing, Needs, Alternatives, Priorities and Program Recommendations (October 1966), (mimeographed), p. 4.

Secondly, as the Indian child grows older, he perceives the poverty of his family and likely the unemployment of his father. He may feel that there is little point in studying hard at school if he will merely duplicate the economic circumstances of his parents. Finally, families in poverty cannot afford to purchase such educationally relevant items as books, magazines, newspapers or television sets.[8]

In order to test the hypothesis of association between economic circumstances and achievement test scores, the following investigation was undertaken. A comparison was made between the relative income level of an agency area and its relative performance on various achievement tests. The statistics used was the rank correlation coefficient.

The results indicate a moderately strange association between the relative income of an agency and the performance of that agency's students on various achievement tests. (The rank correlation coefficients generally ranged between .4 and .6.) (See Appendix C for additional details.) Moreover, although the data are not conclusive, it appears that there is a closer association between an agency's test scores and income ranking at the 12th grade as compared to the 8th grade level.

In order to asses the relative importance of cultural versus economic factors, using recent data, comparisons were made between the association of income, language capacity, and percentage of Indian blood with test scores. The results as presented in Table 2.

Table 5–2.—*Rank correlation test scores, income, and cultural factors, 12th graders, total test battery*

1. Income	0.60
2. English is language of home	0.66
3. Student spoke English when started school	0.66
4. Student is fullblood Indian	0.96

Source: Computed from data contained in Willare P. Bass "An Analysis of Academic Achievement of Indian High School in Federal and Public Schools" (mimeographed, January 1968), and U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population, *Nonwhite Population by Race,* Table 56.

According to Table 2, income is somewhat less closely associated with test scores than the two language factors. In addition, quantum of Indian blood is more closely associated with test scores than any of the other three factors.[9] Similar results are obtained for the series of tests given in 1950.

This finding is somewhat pessimistic as regards to policy implications. Cultural or biological factors such as language of the home or degree of Indian blood cannot be altered by any federal policy regarding reservation Indians. However, reservation incomes can be raised by a variety of policies. In a policy sense, it is unfortunate that income is not more closely related to test scores since it is a variable which could be affected by various development strategies.[10]

Although it appears that economic conditions are not the sole factor or perhaps the most important factor influencing achievement test scores, it is clear that severe educational retardation (as measured by achievement test scores) has profound economic implications. Thus an individual with 11 years of schooling but three years below grade level on achievement tests, may be evaluated by employers as having the equivalent of an eighth grade education.

Some evidence in this regard is obtained by examining data on unemployment and earnings of Indians in metropolitan areas. These areas, unlike the reservation, do not have large labor surpluses (at least not of the relative magnitude of the reservation). Thus unemployment is more a function of supply as compared to demand factors. Since Indians achieve about 2.5 to 3.0 years behind non-Indians, then relevant employment and earnings should be between non-Indians with 6 or 7 years of school and Indians with 9.5 years of school (the median educational level of male urban Indians) of comparable age. The following tabulation compares unemployment and income for urban Indians and non-Indians 30–34 years of age (the median age of a male urban Indian is 33), with 5–7 years of school. The data are derived from the 1960 Census of Population.

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[8] For example, on the Navajo Reservation only 33 percent of the families receive a daily newspaper and only 48 percent own a television set.

[9] It is interesting to note that the association between income and percent full blood Indian measured by the rank correlation coefficient is only .30.

[10] It is assumed that the association between relative income and relative standing on test scores implies that raising income over time will raise test scores. This assumption is correct to the extent that relationships implied by cross section analysis (income and test scores) also apply in a dynamic sense (raising income will raise test scores).

	Unemployment rates	Median income
Indian	9.5	$2,980
Non-Indian	8.4	3,100

The data in the above tabulation indicates that earnings and level of unemployment of Indians with an average of 9.5 years of schooling are rougly comparable to that of non-Indians (of similar age) with 5–7 years schooling. Thus there is some evidence that poor achievement levels of Indians are evaluated by the labor market.[11]

Another effect of poor educational achievement is the high proportion of Indians who fail to complete college. Although the data are sparse, most studies indicate that college dropout rates are much higher for Indians as compared to non-Indians. For example, a study conducted at Southern State Teachers College in South Dakota, indicates that of 112 Indian students who attended in a 33 year period, 59 (52 percent), had failed to last three quarters.[12] Moreover, of 100 Indian students who enrolled at the University of New Mexico in 1954 (all classes), 70 percent were subsequently dropped with low grades, 20 percent were still enrolled (as of 1958) and 10 percent had obtained degrees.[13]

Although it may not be possible to alter the poverty and cultural environment which deeply influences the children when they are not in school, it should be possible to some what negate these influences while the children are in school. Two policies which could raise the educational achievement of reservation Indian children are the provision of high quality education, and the maintenance of an adequate remedial education program.

Although there is little agreement among educators and social scientists as to the best indices of school quality, one measure which is generally accepted is an institution's accreditation status. The accreditation status of schools attended by Indians and whites is compared in Table 5–3.

Thus, while the schools attended by Indians and non-Indians had the same percentages vis a vis state accreditation, only 52 percent of the schools attended by Indians had the more meaningful regional accreditation as compared to 75 percent of the public schools attened by non-Indians. This apparent difference in school quality may account for some of the difference in achievement scores.

It is not clear why the federal Indian schools are not able to provide education of equal quality (as measured by accreditation status) with the public schools. According to Bureau of Indian Affairs data, expenditures per pupil in day schools for 1968 was $861 which is not only above the level of expenditures in states where most of the reservations are located but above the average for the nation as a whole.[14] With above average expenditures, why is the quality of the federal schools (as measured by their accreditation status) so low? Since the federal government spends over $175 million a year on Indian education, the answer to such a question has important implications concerning government efficiency regarding expenditures on education.

If one believes that the educational operations of the federal government should provide a model for the states, especially regarding disadvantaged children, then the data in Table 5–3 show the great gap which exists between that ideal and reality.

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[11] One could think of other explanations of the rough comparability of the earnings and unemployment rates given above. First of all there is some discrimination against American Indians especially in states with a large number of Indians. Also Indians may have difficulty adjusting to an urban environment particularly if they grew up on a reservation.

[12] M. L. Wax, R. H. Wax, and R. V. Dumont, Jr., "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," *Social Problems*, Volume II, No. 4, Supplement, 1964.

[13] M. V. Zizty, The Indian Research Study, Final Report, Albuquerque, New Mexico, University of New Mexico, College of Education (processed).

[14] One could argue that this indicates that federal Indian schools are actually providing education of relatively *high* quality since expenditures per pupil are high. However, expenditures per pupil are taken into account by those who accredit institutions along with the quality of faculty, library size and other educationally relevant variables. Presumably these other factors outweigh the data on expenditures to produce a relatively unfavorable evaluation.

It is clear that the church related and private schools are very weak, with some not even accredited by the state. Since some of these institutions receive federal support, it is unfortunate that the government has been put in the position of subsidizing such inferior institutions.[15a]

However, since most of these schools are mission schools, the bulk of their funds and ultimately their quality is related to the generosity of the parishioners.

TABLE 5-3.—ACCREDITATION STATUS, FEDERAL INDIAN SCHOOLS, MISSION SCHOOLS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS ENROLLING INDIANS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS ENROLLING NON-INDIANS (SECONDARY SCHOOLS ONLY)

Type of school	Percent having State accreditation	Percent having regional accreditation
1. Federal Indian	100	38
2. Public schools enrolling Indians[1]	100	64
3. Mission schools[2]	82	6
4. Total Indians	99	52
5. Public schools enrolling non-Indians	98	75

[1] Based on a sample of 64 high schools used in 1968 Office of Education "Study of Indian High School Dropouts."
[2] Based on a sample of 17 mission high schools.

Source: Data on accreditation of mission schools and public schools attended by Indians from Leah W. Ramsey, "Directory of Public Secondary Day Schools, 1958-59," U.S. Office of Education (1961); and Diane B. Gertlar and Leah W. Ramsey, "Non-Public Secondary Schools," U.S. Office of Education (1963); "Data on Federal Indian Schools," interview with O. Palmer, Division of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs (April 1968); Data on public schools attended by non-Indians from J. S. Coleman, et al., "Equality of Educational Opportunity" (Washington, D.C., 1966), table 2, 23, p. 87.

REMEDIAL EDUCATION

Aside from the quality of the school environment, the amount of remedial work offered could have a profound effect on the educational achievement of Indian children. Because of the large number of Indian children who are in need of remedial work, it is unfortunate that so few children are given this opportunity by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. From 1964–67 only about 4,000 students were enrolled in remedial summer courses (see Appendix C). Since about 55,000 attend federal schools in the regular term, it is likely that at least half (27,500) are in need of remedial summer work.

It is likely that remedial courses could be offered to a large number of additional students at relatively low cost. Because of civil service regulations, Bureau teachers receive only 2–3 weeks annual leave in the summer, and as a result spend much of the summer on the reservations. Aside from a small amount of time spent in connection with student recreational activities, most of the teachers are idle. Since they are being paid on a 12 month basis, would they not be obligated to teach during the summer if the remedial program was expanded? The answer would seem to be yes, since the 4,000 students presently being taught are receiving instructions from teachers who receive no extra pay. Since in this situation the teachers and buildings are a fixed cost, the marginal cost per pupil would likely be very low.

An interesting remedial enrichment project is conducted during the summer months on the Yakima Reservation. Children of 7th-11th grade who are in need of remedial work are taken to a woodland camp where they are given intensive instruction. There is 1 teacher to 10 students and no textbooks are used; instead the camp features programmed learning. Project leaders claim that in just 20 days of teaching that the average pupil experience 12 months growth in basic skills.[15b]

THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

In 1967 about $5 million was made available to Bureau schools through the Indian amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The bulk of the funds have been utilized for remedial programs, recreational activities, and enrichment programs such as field trips.

[15a] If there is not room in existing federal schools, then the private schools are permitted to receive government payments for the children they accept.

[51b] Intervie with Mr. Robert Muche, Education Office, Yakima Indian Agency, July 1, 1968.

Evaluation of the program by a private management consulting firm indicated that the program is operating smoothly although there has been some difficulty in recruiting competent staff on some of the more insulated reservations. As part of the evaluation concerning the remedial education effort under Title 1, some 3,045 students were tested before and after receiving remedial instruction.[16]

It appears that the program was much more effective in some schools than others. (See Appendix C.) Some students raised their achievement levels on reading and arithmetic examinations by 1 year after only 2–3 months instruction. Others showed no growth in achievement level (not even the expected growth as the academic year progresses) with even longer periods of remedial instruction. In general, the gains in achievement were small and not encouraging. However, it must be remembered that at the time of retesting, most of the remedial programs were in operation less than 90 days and it can be argued that it is extremely optimistic to expect any significant changes in performance. However, some schools were able to achieve significant results in a short time and it is unfortunate that those responsible for evaluating this program did not attempt to discern the reasons for the variability in performance by school. It is likely that differences in quality of staff and equipment, variations in intensity of instruction or overall administrative ability are important factors to be considered.

DROPOUTS

Most studies indicate that the dropout rate for American Indians is much higher than for non-Indians. Apker estimates that less than 40 percent of Indian high school entrants graduate as compared to 60 percent of all American students.[17] Spilka and Bryde state that on a national level in 1963, 32 percent of non-Indians dropped out before completing high school compared with a dropout rate for Indian students of about 60 percent.[18]

A recent study of 6 Northwest states indicates a much higher dropout rate for Indians than non-Indians. Students who were eighth graders in 1962–63 were surveyed in 1966–67. It was found that 47.7 percent of the Indians had dropped out compared to 16.5 percent for the non-Indians.[19]

There has not been a great deal of previous research on the course of Indian high school dropouts. Bryde found on the basis of personality tests given to Ogala Sioux students that "dropouts feel more refected, anxious, depressed, psychasthnic, paranoid, and emotionally alienated".[20] A recent study of eighth grade students on the Pine Ridge Reservation compared those who subsequently dropped from school with those who remained. Dropouts tended to come from the more isolated sections of the reservation than graduates. In addition dropouts tended to be older at entrance to 9th grade than graduates and the former did significantly poorer on the Iowa Test of Educational Achievement.[21]

As indicated above, the U.S. Office of Education's Northwest Regional Laboratory has recently completed an extensive survey of the magnitude of the dropout rate in 6 states. This is the first extensive survey ever made on the Indian dropout problem. The data contained in this study make it possible to determine the dropout rate for 19 reservations in the 6 states. These dropout rates vary widely from 25 percent on the Umatilla Reservation in Washington, to 61.7 percent on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. In order to explain the variation in dropout rates between reservations, a multiple regression equation is developed which relates the dependent variable, the reservation dropout rate, to two independent variables. These are family income on the reservation and median years of school completed for reservation males age 14 and over.[22] The two independent variables were chosen for the following reasons:

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[16] The Enki Corporation, Evaluation Report Bureau of Indian Affairs, Title 1, Programs Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Vol. III: Detailed Test Data.

[17] Wesley Apker "A Survey of the Literature Related to Indian Pupil Dropout," (M. Ed. Thesis, Washington State University, 1962.)

[18] B. Spilka and J. Bryde, "Alienation and Achievement among Ogola Sioux Secondary Students (unpublished paper, 1965).

[19] Alphonse D. Selinger, *The American Indian High School Dropout: The Magnitude of the Problem* (Office of Education, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, September 1968), pp. 2 and 137. The dropout rates for Indians in this study were from grades 8–12 while the rates for non-Indians were from grades 9–12.

[20] J. F. Bryde, the Sioux Indian Student: *A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1966), p. 132.

[21] Donn Knudson cited by Eileen Marynard (ed.) *Pine Ridge Research Bulletin*. Bulletin No. 1, (January 1968) p. 27. A recent study of the South Dakota secondary school population showed that 54 percent of Indian dropouts occur in the 9th grade compared with 20 percent for non-Indians.

1. The father's education reflects a motivating force to the extent that each parent desires as much or more education for his children as he had achieved. It is assumed that variations in the educational level of all males age 14 and over between reservations reflects variations in educational level of fathers.
2. Family income reflects not only the financial ability of the family to educate its children, but a relatively high standard of living may give a child an incentive to complete school so that *his* own family can someday enjoy this or a higher standard of living.

The association between the dependent and independent variables is given below, where Y is the dropout rate, X is median family income, and Z is the median level of schooling of males 14 and over.

$$Y=132.66-\underset{(.034)}{\overset{**}{.1143X}}-\underset{(4.49)}{\overset{*}{8.3762Z}}\quad R=.81,\ R^2=.66$$

** significant at the .01 level
* significant at the .05 level

The regression equation indicates that the income variable is significant at the .01 level while the education variable is significant at the .05 level. The simple correlation between the income and dropout variables is —.76 and the simple correlation between the education and dropout variables is —.64.[23] It is interesting to note that these two independent variables explain about two-thirds of the variation in dropout rates *between* reservations.

Thus it appears that differences in family income and levels of male educational attainment are strongly associated with variations between reservations in high school dropout rates.[24]

Reservations with the lowest family incomes ($1,200 per year or less) not only contain more families living in poverty, and less able to permit their children to remain in school, but the poorest reservations likely contain the fewest opportunities to effectively use one's education. Becker has shown that the demand for education is a function of the rate of return on this investment.[25]

A low rate of return to education may not only be associated with variations in dropout rates between reservations but is likely a factor responsible for the much lower educational attainment of Indians compared to non-Indians. Thus, the additional income earned as a result of high school graduation may not be much greater than the opportunity cost (earnings foregone) plus direct costs.[26]

In order to shed light on the hypothesis that differentials in dropout rates between Indians and non-Indians reflect lower rates of return for the former, the following investigation was undertaken. Income data by education were obtained for those states where 8 percent of the non-whites were Indians (earnings are given by level of education for non-whites). There are three states in which 85 percent of the non-whites are Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts.[27] These are Alaska,

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[22] It would probably have been better to use education of fathers instead of all males. However, data on the former were not available.

[23] The association between the independent variables as given by the correlation coefficient is .53 so that the problem of multicollinearity does not appear serious.

[24] Although precise data are not available on a reservation basis, it is believed that cultural factors are not responsible in any important degree for variations in dropout rates between reservations. Most of the reservations indicated in the survey contain about the same proportion of full blood Indians. In addition, very few Northwest Indians still speak the Indian dialects to an appreciable degree.

[25] See Gary Becker, *Human Capital,* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964), pp. 90–103.

[26] Because less than 10 percent of Indian school graduates go to college, it appears that the most relevant comparison is between graduation from high school and dropping out of high school.

[27] Eskimos, native to Alaska, are also under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and were included for that reason.

South Dakota, and New Mexico. Those three states contain over one-third of the population under Bureau of Indian Affairs jurisdiction. Income data from the 1960 census of population for non-whites and whites from these three states is presented below.

Level of schooling	Mean earnings (nonwhites)	Mean earnings (whites)
9 to 11 years	3,730	5,410
12 years	3,820	6,070

As the tabulation above indicates mean earnings of Indian graduates are only $90 more than for dropouts. This compares to an earnings differential for white graduates and dropouts of $660. Although sufficient data are not available to compute the exact rate of return of Indians for high school graduation, it is undoubtedly very low.[28]

The primary reason for the small differential in earnings of graduates as compared to dropouts is the low level of economic activity on the reservations.[29] There are few jobs for anyone regardless of his level of education. Moreover, many of the available jobs require only unskilled workers. These positions can be handled as easily by a high school dropout as a graduate.[30]

On the basis of the limited data presented, it appears that low incomes and lack of economic opportunity are important factors affecting the reservation dropout rate. It is likely that policies which aided reservation development; either through industrialization, or public works programs or some other income creating activity could create incentives to remain in school, thus lowering the dropout rate. Unless there is a demand for skilled labor or white collar employment on the reservation the dropout rate will not only remain agonizingly high but the majority of the better educated young people will leave the reservation.

In spite of the fact that only one-half of all reservation Indian students finish high school, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has no program of high school dropout prevention. However, it is not clear whether an effort in this regard would be an efficient use of federal funds.[31] The differential between earnings of graduates and dropouts is likely not sufficiently large that the benefit-cost ratio of an intensive high school dropout prevention program would equal one. However, if a dropout prevention program was *linked* to a program of training and relocation, it is possible that the program would have a considerably higher payoff. Most adult vocational training courses require a high school education and those who relocate with no training find steady employment difficult without a high school diploma. Thus, it is clear that potential dropouts who could be persuaded to finish high school and then to enter the training or relocation programs would have a much greater opportunity to earn an adequate income than if they had dropped out of school on the reservation.

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[28] For example, assume that a dropout leaves school two years before a graduate and earns $700 per year (based on age earnings profiles). At a 5 percent discount rate and a constant $90 advantage in income over the dropout, it would take 18 years for the graduate to catch up to the dropout with respect to total income earned. Moreover, it should be noted that the Indian graduates and dropouts are of similar age so that similar income levels are not due to age disparity.

[29] Another possible reason for the small earnings differential between Indian high school graduates and dropouts is that this reflects the small gain in academic achievement of graduates over dropouts (see earlier section on academic achievement).

[30] One could argue that the differential between earnings of dropouts and graduates understates the rate of return to high school education because it does not fully reflect the income advantage of the graduate over the dropout if they left the reservation. However, it is questionable as to whether or not an Indian high school student considers possible future migration is his decision to remain in or leave school.

[31] There has only been one published evaluation of a dropout prevention program. Weisbrod examined a program for the prevention of dropouts in St. Louis which had the financial support of the Ford Foundation. Using a 5 percent rate of discount, Weisbrod found the ration of benefits to costs to be .42. For further information see Burton Weisbrod "Preventing High School Dropouts," in Robert Darfman (ed.) *Measuring Benefits of Government Investments* (Brookings Institution, 1965), p. 148.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

During the years when a majority of Indian children were educated in federal boarding schools (1880-1940), there was emphasis on training students in vocational skills, including vocational agriculture. However, after World War II, educational policy makers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs felt that vocational courses should be gradually phased out and more or less exclusive emphasis be placed on academic courses. Between 1957–1963 "shop" courses above the prevocational level were eliminated at all but four high schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[32] Moreover, most Bureau schools offer no commercial courses for girls such as shorthand, bookkeeping or office practice. (The sole exception to this generalization is typing 1, but the author visited one school where this course was not available.)

Since 1963 the Bureau has not really formulated a clear policy with respect to the future of vocational education in its schools.[33] This section of the chapter will attempt to provide an economic framework for policy recommendations in this area.

The rationale for severely limiting vocational offerings has been the following: Since vocational training is available at the post high school level through the adult vocational training program or at Haskell Institute, it is better to concentrate on purely academic courses at the high school level. Then those students who wish to attend college will have had sufficient preparation and those who desire vocational or commercial training will be able to obtain it after high school.[34]

It would appear that economic factors received little consideration (except perhaps the savings to the government of not having to hire vocational teachers or purchase equipment for the shops) in this policy decision. This was unfortunate because on economic and other grounds this has been a questionable policy.

First, there have never been enough facilities available at Haskell Institute or through the adult vocational program to accomodate all those individuals who are interested in obtaining vocational training. Thus, there are about three times as many applications at Haskell Institute as there are openings in the first year class. Moreover, in recent years, 25-30 percent of the applicants for adult vocational training have been turned away.[35]

Secondly, about half of the vocational courses offered at the post high school level are similar to those given in vocational high schools or comprehensive high schools enrolling non-Indians. Corazzini has indicated that the earnings differential between the graduates of post high school vocational courses and vocational high school graduates who have completed similar courses is so small that the rate of return to post high school vocational education at a 5 percent discount rate is negative.[36] Thus by postponing vocational training for two years, many students may earn a *lower* lifetime income. On a related point, it is likely that students who received vocational training in high school would earn more than those students who did not (and failed to go to college). Not only would the former be more likely to obtain industrial employment on or near the reservation but would have more chance to obtain semi-skilled or skilled employment if he participated in the direct relocation program.[37]

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[33] Based on interviews with L. Madison Coombs, Director of Educational Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs and Anselm Davis, Vocational Education Specialist, Division of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, the conclusion is mine not theirs.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Moreover, the adult vocational training program is not a program which is operated solely for the recent high school graduates. Many applications come from older high school graduates, who being unable to find a job on the reservation apply for the training and relocation which this program provides.

[36] A. J. Corrazzini "When Should Vocational Education Begin?" *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume II, No. 1, (Winter, 1967), pp. 46–49. This conclusion applies only to the case where post high school vocational students are taking the same courses as high school vocational students. The reason the rate of return in negative is that the opportunity costs (foregone earnings) are greater than the increment in earnings obtained by postponing vocational education.

[32] The high schools still offering vocational training are Phoenix Indian School, Phoenix, Arizona; The Inter-Mountain School, Brigham City, Utah, Chilocco Agricultural School, Chilocco, Oklahoma, and Sherman Institute, Riverside California. In addition, post high school vocational and commercial training is available at Haskell Institute, Lawerence, Kansas.

[37] Corazzini found in a study of vocational training in Worcester, Massachusetts that the differential in earnings of vocational high school graduates over those taking the general trade was such that at a 5 percent rate of discount the extra costs of the vocational program could be recovered in 11 years. See Arthur J. Corazzini, "The Decision to Invest in Vocational Education; An Analysis of Costs and Benefits," *Journal of Human Resources* Volume 11, Supplement (1968) p. 106.

Moreover, as pointed out above, approximately 50 percent of the Indian students residing on or adjacent to reservations fail to complete high school. These individuals are not eligible for post high school vocational training and for the most part lack the educational qualifications to be eligible for the adult vocational training program. One wonders whether these individuals would have a better chance for permanent employment if they had received some vocational training before they left school as compared to academic courses exclusively.

In addition the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never considered using vocational training as a form of dropout prevention. Studies have indicated that many Indian children, like non-Indians, leave school because of a lack of interest in what is being taught.[38] With industrialization of the reservations under way, and the strong interest in relocation shown by younger Indians it may be important to minimize the dropout rate. Recent research in this area is not conclusive. Taussig examining vocational training in New York City concluded that "Recognizing the unfortunate amount of ignorance in this area, it would still seem a fair judgment that the vocational program in New York City has demonstrated no significant holding power over potential dropouts."[39] However, Corazzini studying vocational training in Worcester, Massachusetts, found that "The difference between the tracks is clearly the success of the vocational track in keeping people in school by allowing them to proceed at a slower but far more costly pace."[40]

Another reason why expanded vocational training opportunities may be an economically effective policy is that, in the long run, it may encourage the location of more industrial plants on the reservation. With a pool of skilled or semi-skilled labor, instead of the present surplus of unskilled workers, industry may be more anxious to locate on the reservations.[41]

Perhaps, in a sense, the most important reason why the present policy of limiting vocational training is questionable, is that it apparently runs counter to what the Indian people want. Many Indian leaders visited by the author during 1968 indicated a desire to see an expansion of vocational training in the schools. Moreover, hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education under the chairmanship of Robert F. Kennedy (and after his death by Wayne Morse) produced a long list of Indian witnesses who favored vocational training in the high schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[42]

Not only are the opportunities for vocational training in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools quite limited, but the course offerings are generally inadequate. Courses tend to be in older, traditional, low paying occupations such as shoe repair, dry cleaning, cosmetology, janitorial work, auto mechanics, printing and welding. There is little opportunity for courses in electronics and no courses are given in any of the building trades, radio and TV repair, drafting or commercial art, or airplane, refrigerator or air conditioning repair. These latter courses are given in many vocational schools in metropolitan areas. Most of the equipment used in the shops is rather old and therefore of limited usefulness. Apparently the Bureau of Indian Affairs has refrained from spending any appreciable amount on new equipment since the late 1950's because they have been unable to decide whether to abolish vocational training altogether.

Finally, there is no way that a student interested in vocational training could arrange to be sent to one of the schools offering such a program. The schools offering this training are off reservation boarding schools. Only students with social problems, severe academic retardation, or those who live 1½ miles or more from a school bus route are eligible to attend. Moreover, one's location determines to which school one would be sent. Thus, Intermountain school is exclusively for Navaho Students and Pheonix Indian School is also attended by a high proportion of Navaho Students. Students do not apply for admission to these schools but are instead sent there if the education officer on the reservation deems it advisable.

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[38] For example, see John F. Bryde, "The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Denver, 1966), p. 129.

[39] Michael K. Taussig "An Economic Analysis of Vocational Education in the New York City High Schools," *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume III, Supplement (1968), p. 82.

[40] Arthur J. Corazzini, "The Decision to Invest in Vocational Education: An Analysis of Costs and Benefits," *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume II, Supplement (1968), p. 112.

[41] As a practical matter, some of the individuals who received vocational training would leave the reservation so that the pool of skilled or semi-skilled labor would be smaller than if the migration did not take place.

[42] U.S. Senate, 90th Cong., 2d sess., Senate Subcommittee, Indian Education, "Hearings on Indian Education" (unpublished).

Because research in the area of vocational education has been so limited, many of the statements made in the past few pages must be regarded as tentative. However, it does appear that some expansion in the vocational offerings in Bureau schools may be advisable particularly if there is a student demand for the courses. Recent research indicates that because of job mobility it may be more realistic to teach students clusters of skills instead of the specific skills necessary for a particular occupation.

In order to determine the validity of these recommendations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should undertake a benefit-cost analysis of its existing vocational training program by isolating the relevant costs and relating them to the earnings differentials (if any) between graduates of vocational courses versus non college high school graduates, it should be possible to ascertain the benefit cost ratio of the program.[43] If the ratio was considerably greater than one, this would be a significant factor regarding expansion of the program not only in terms of students enrolled but in terms of equipment utilized and courses offered.

ADULT EDUCATION

One of the greatest needs among reservation Indians is an effective program of adult education. This would not only increase the human capital available on the reservation for utilization by employers or potential employers but would allow the adult Indians greater job opportunities should he desire to leave the reservation. Table 5-4 indicates the median educational level of adult reservation Indians.

The table above indicates that the median years of schooling for all age groups except the 20-24 age group is below the high school level.[44]

TABLE 5-4.—*Median years of school completed, by age, reservation Indian males, 1960*

Age:	Years
20 to 24	9.3
25 to 35	8.5
35 to 44	8.1
45 to 64	6.7
65 and over	3.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1960, "Nonwhite Population by Race" (1960), table 20, p. 343.

There is a death of information regarding the Bureau's adult education program. The information available, while pointing up some expansion in recent years, indicates the presently limited scope of the program. Table 5-5 presents the pertinent available statistical information regarding the adult education program.

Although the percentage of communities served by an adult education program more than doubled in the 1962-68 period (see Table 5-5) only about half the Indian communities were being served by an adult education program in 1968. Virtually no communities in Alaska are being served in spite of the fact that 15 percent of the table population under Bureau of Indian Affairs jurisdiction resides in Alaska.[45]

The column headed "total adults served" is somewhat misleading. Many adults signed up for both formal and informal classes so that there is an unknown amount of double counting in this statistic; more, if one adult is enrolled in, for example, three classes he is counted three times. In spite of the fact that the number of adults nearly tripled between 1967 and 1968 less than one adult Indian per seven non-high school graduates was enrolled in 1968.[46]

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[43] Unfortunately, insufficient data exist to presently undertake a study of this kind.

[44] Since most tribal chiefs and members of the tribal councils are over 40, it is evident that many Indian leaders lack the educational attainment which would help them to understand the modern world.

[45] Interview with Mr. Jerry Hargis, Adult Education Specialist, Bureau of Indian Affairs, October 1968.

[46] This ratio is a maximum figure. It assumes there was no double counting. Since there was double counting, substantially fewer than 33,883 adults participated in formal classes. It appears to the writer that this is a poor way for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to keep statistics, mainly because it is impossible to determine over time whether more adults are participating or more courses are being offered.

Although it is beyond the scope of this monograph to suggest an appropriate budget for the adult education program, it should be noted that the entire education budget of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1968 was $175 million. Thus, only about 3.5 of 1 percent of the Bureau's educational budget was programmed for adult education. This seems incredibly low when one considers that the average adult Indian has only eight years of school and that only half of today's Indian high school students are finishing high school.

Moreover, expenditures per student for this program seem far below effective levels. If we assume that double counting is 100 percent; that is of 61,393 adults served, in fact only half that number were served, total expenditures would only be $33 per student. If there was no double counting total expenditures would be an incredibly low $16 per student.

Budgetary considerations have forced the Bureau to limit the effectiveness of its basic education program. This program, which enrolls the bulk of the adults who sign up for formal classes, is essentially a literary program. However, the program is only set up to bring educational achievement up to fifth grade level. Because of rapid technological change and the requirements of industry for highly educated manpower, many adult educators believe that this type of program must seek to raise one's achievement in the basic skills up to a minimum of eighth grade level.[47]

In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has only 40 professional adult educators, or one for every four Indian reservations. It is the job of these individuals, in addition to teaching, to establish courses, recruit teachers, and coordinate their program with other reservation educational programs. It would appear that these individuals are spread too thinly to do a really effective job.

An expansion of the adult education program, in terms of numbers served and total effectiveness would appear highly desirable. Many adults over age 45 never had the opportunity to attend high school. They should be given such an opportunity now. Younger adults may have dropped out of school and should be given a second chance at an effective education. In addition, this program could be integrated with the on-the-job training program to enable the Indian participants to learn the skills necessary to eventually move into management positions.

PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES

One of the most critical needs of the federal Indian schools is for skilled professional non-teaching personnel. More specifically there is a critical need for school psychologists, social workers, guidance counselors, and workers in the area of special education. The manpower deficiencies in each of these areas will be discussed in turn.

There is some fairly persuasive evidence that Indian children experience psychological problems adjusting to a formal school situation in which the teacher and staff are non-Indian. Saseki writes concerning the Indian reaction to a white classroom situation: Rapid change from the Indian way of life may leave the Indians with the problem of being confused as to which set of rules to live by. The difficulty of making decisions in this situation may result in emotional problems. The Indian may withdraw from situations where he has to make such decisions or he may even go back to tribal ways altogether—much work needs to be done to relate type and symptoms of mental illness to the various culturation situations.[48]

Harry Saslow, who has done work in mental health at the Albuquerque Boarding School, points out that "A large majority of the students have serious emotional or social problems before they ever come to school." From 1963 to 1967 Saslow indicates that 25 percent of the students at Albuquerque Boarding School were there because of behavioral problems.[49]

An investigator evaluating the effectiveness of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as regards Indian reservations made the following comments concerning the Wapeton Indian School: "Over 90 percent of the children attending the Wapeton Indian School come from family Milieus in which there is severe economic deprivation and social maladjustment. Parental backgrounds reveal cases of assault, illicit cohabitation, illegitimacy, rape, theft and chronic alcoholism. Some of the children have been in corrective institutions. Some were dismissed or rejected from other schools for such stated reasons as, maladjusted, recalcitrant, stubborn, truant, pugnacious, uncooperative, incorrigible, depraved and delinquent. Many of the social histories disclose traumas, which have doubtless contributed to problems in emotional organization and socialization. Among the emergency situations that led to the enrollment of some of the children are removal of parental custody, the hospitalization of parents with serious illness, the incarceration of parents in penal institutions, and the violent death of parents or their surrogates.[50]

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[47] Interview with Mr. Jerry Hargis, *op. cit.*

[48] T. Saseki, "Sources of Mental Stress in Indian Acculturation," in J. Cobb (ed.), ***Emotional Problems of Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Public Schools***, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 5 (mimeographed).

[49] Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, October 1968.

As indicated earlier most non-reservation boarding schools have as one of the principal criterion for acceptance of pupils, the fact that the pupil is the product of a broken home, or that he has emotional or mental problems which cannot be corrected in an ordinary school situation.

Thus, with the fairly well established need for school psychilogists in the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, especially the off reservation boarding schools, it is dismaying to discover that there is only one psychologist employed in the entire Bureau of Indian Affairs School system.[51] In addition there are virtually no mental health personnel employed by the Division of Indian Health in Indian Hospitals.

It is ironic that students are sent to off reservation boarding schools because the personnel on the reservation are supposedly unable to cope with their special problems. However, with no psychologists or psychiatrists available, one wonders how these latter institutions are any more able to meet the needs of the students than the institutions which referred them.

Since relatively few public schools have psychologists,[52] it is difficult to ascertain how many psychologists are needed. However, there should certainly be one in each of the 19 off reservation boarding schools and perhaps one psychologist for each 1,000 pupils in the other Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools. This implies a total demand for 63 psychologists.

SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKERS

In recent years urban school systems have begun to hire individuals with Master Degrees in social work for the position of school and social worker. Thus, has come the realization that in schools, children with problems reflect communities with problems.

It would appear that there is a great need for social workers in federal Indian schools. Some of the areas where they could be most useful include:

(*a*) *Prevention of Dropouts.*—One of the most useful functions of the school social worker could be visiting the home and discussing with the entire family the importance of completing school.

Sinse less than one-fifth of reservation Indian parents have completed high school, the social workers may be needed to convince the older members of the family of the importance of high school education. Of course for those students attending boarding schools long distances from home, it would appear more practical to work directly with the students.

(*b*) *Working With Under Achievers.*—Most studies indicate that many Indian children of average or little intelligence are achieving far below their capacities.[53] School social workers, in conjunction with the teaching staff could seek methods of increasing student motivation and general interest in school. Perhaps trained social workers can remove some of the impediments to learning which appear to exist for many Indian children.

(*c*) *Assisting and Supplementing the Psychologist.*—The social worker would be able to supplement those children which the latter has identified as emotionally disturbed or who have varying degrees of mental illness. The social worker, may be able to work with parents if home conditions are a source of the child's condition.

At present the Bureau of Indina Affairs has two social workers in the entire school system.[54]

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[50] The Enki Corporation, *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 30.

[51] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Total Bureau of Indian Affairs Staffing in Pupil Personnel Service" (unpublished tabulation, 1968).

[52] According to a U.S. Office of Education Survey the number of public school psychologists increased between 1950 and 1960 from 520 to 2,724.

[53] For example see, the Enki Corporation, "Evaluation Report, Bureau of Indian Affairs Title 1 Programs, Elementary and Secondary Education Act." Volume Detailed Test, Data, August 1967.

[54] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Total Bureau of Indian Affairs Staffing in Pupil Personnel Services (unpublished tabulation, 1968).

Although no casework standards for school social work appear to be documented, the Baltimore City Schools try to maintain a standard of 75 cases per worker. In several off reservation boarding schools the present ratio of children with problems to the number of pupils enrolled is 80 percent.[55] Since 11,000 students attend off reservation boarding schools this implies a need for 120 social workers just for those schools alone.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Because of the fact that many Indian children are severely retarded in educational achievement, there is a great need for teachers who have been trained in special education. Bureau of Indian Affairs researchers, examining the role of special education in public schools, have ascertained the pupil teacher ratios which special educators believe are optimal for children with a variety of functional disabilities.[56] These are reproduced as Table 5–6.

TABLE 5–6.—*Optimal pupil-teacher ratio, variety of functional disabilities.*

Type of Disability:	*Ratio*
Hard of hearing	15:1
Partially sighted	12:1
Mental retardation	12:1
Social emotional disorders	9:1
Psychoneurological learning Disorders	12:1
Gifted children	14:1

Source: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Teacher-pupil Ratios in Areas of Special Education," unpublished paper, 1968.

If we assume that only 1/10 of the pupils in Federal Indian Schools require the services of a special educator (which is a very conservative estimate given the fact that the achievement level of a reservation Indian 12th grade student is 3–4 years below the national average), this would imply assuming a ratio of 12 students per special educator, a need for approximately 460 special educators. At present the Bureau of Indian Affairs has only 7 special educators for a school system of 250 schools and 57,000 students.[57] Obviously these educators can only meet a tiny fraction of the need for their services.

GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

Considering the utilization of guidance counselors in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, the problem is as much one of manpower effectiveness as it is of manpower shortage. Guidance counselors in Indian schools should be performing many of the same functions as they would if employed by public schools, such as counseling on after graduation job opportunities, helping the student select an appropriate college and assisting in various school testing programs. Moreover, guidance counselors at Indian schools should be responsible for easing the adjustment of the student who may be entering a public school with a minority of Indian pupils[58] and for interpreting standardized tests given to Indian pupils in light of the fact that these tests were originally designed and standardized for students whose cultural and social development is quite different from Indian children.

It has been generally recognized that the manpower services of guidance personnel have been used ineffectively in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. To quote from a recent Bureau of Indian Affairs memorandum: "As we closely observe the general practices that are presently followed in Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools ,it is readily apparent that the area of guidance has assumed the major responsibility for looking after the general welfare of the students e.g., developing health habits, conducting recreational activities, developing eating practices, providing clothing, meting out punishment, and putting children to bed. To place the discipline of guidance in such an untenable position leads to the castration of the possible effectiveness that professional guidance personnel could perform." [59]

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[55] V. P. Shook, Chief Social Work Section, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Professional-Pupil Ratios in School Social Work" (1968)

[56] The Bureau of Indian Affairs is thus, not unaware of its needs in regard to manpower requirements for pupil personnel services. However, budget limitations are at least partially reasonable for the failure to obtain the necessary staff.

[57] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, "Total Bureau of Inidan Affairs Staffing in Professional Pesronnel Services," unpublished tabulation, 1968.

[58] A large number of Indian children attend all Indian schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs up to grade eight or nine and then enter high school.

There are two primary reasons why guidance personnel are being used ineffectively. First, there is a shortage of dormitory aids in virtually every Indian school. As a result, guidance counselors are used as substitutes for these dormitory personnel. Secondly, many of the guidance counselors in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools have the title, guidance counselor, but are not really qualified for their work. These individuals, in far too many cases, have had insufficient formal preparation which could be used to prepare an effective guidance program.[60]

Moreover, it appears that there is a shortage of guidance personnel, although not so severe as in the case of other skilled non-teaching personnel. On the basis of discussions with educators and guidance workers on 14 reservations during 1968, it would appear that an increase of 50 percent in the number of guidance personnel would be sufficient to eliminate the shortage.[61] Since there are presently 173 guidance counselors employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this implies a need for an additional 85 *trained* guidance counselors.

SUMMARY OF MANPOWER NEEDS

The manpower needs in the various pupil personnel services are presented in Table 5–7. The assumptions made in deriving these estimates are believed quite conservative so that actual staffing needs will most likely be higher than the estimates presented.

TABLE 5–7.—MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS, VARIOUS PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS

Profession	Present staff	Manpower needs	Manpower deficit
Psychologist	1	[1] 63	62
School social workers	2	[2] 120	118
Special education	7	[3] 460	453
Guidance counselors	173	[4] 258	85
Total	183	901	718

[1] Assume 1 psychologist for each 19 off reservation boarding schools and 1 psychologist for each 1,000 other pupils.
[2] Off reservation boarding schools only. Assumes 80 percent of pupils with problems and 75 cases per worker.
[3] Assumes pupil teacher ratio 12:1 and 10 percent of children need services of special educator.
[4] Assumes ratio of 1 guidance counselor per 200 pupils.
Source: Calculated as described above.

If one accepts the argument that government schools should be model institutions regarding the education of disadvantaged children, it is clear that in terms of the adequacy of skilled non-teaching personnel the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools are seriously inadequate. There is a need for four times as many skilled nonteaching personnel as are presently employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

TEACHER TURNOVER IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS

Teacher turnover, which is excessive, likely has a negative impact on the quality of education. Not only do some students have more than one teacher per year, (about 40 percent of the teachers who leave Bureau of Indian Affairs schools on an annual basis, do so during the school year), but recruitment costs are high leaving less money to be spent for other educational purposes. Moreover, teacher turnover is to some extent an indication of teacher dissatisfaction with the schools and students and its seems reasonable to assert that a dissatisfied teacher would not be teaching at maximum effectiveness. Total teacher turnover is defined as the total number of vacancies to be filled in a local school system as administrative unit. This includes transfers within the system as well as separation from a system. It does not include accessions by newly created positions.[62]

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[59] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Pupil Personnel Services, "Professional Services to Pupils Through Guidance and Counseling," unpublished paper, 1968.

[60] The standard qualification for a guidance counselor is a masters degree in guidance.

[61] This assumes that all guidance counselors are being utilized effectively and would be qualified. Since this is presently not the case, the 50 percent increase is probably an underestimate of actual staffing needs. A 50 percent increase in guidance counselors would bring the ratio of guidance counselors to students to about 1:200. This is only half as many students for each counselor as is generally found in public schools. However, a high proportion of Indian students live in boarding schools, and thus require more counseling than in the usual school situation. Moreover, since Indian parents generally have limited schooling and off reservation experiences, counseling is vital to acquaint the child with the prerequisites for successful living in an off reservation setting (eg. training, education).

Teacher turnover in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools is almost double the turnover rate for the public schools of the country as a whole. (See Appendix C.) Moreover, the rate of teacher turnover in the former school system is almost two and a half times as great as the rate in the three eastern states of New York, Connecticut and Tennessee. However, teacher turnover in federal Indian schools is roughly comparable to the turnover in school systems located in the relatively sparsely settled states of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Nebraska, and Alaska. Since most B.I.A. Schools are located in sparsely settled western and southwestern states and have turnover rates no greater than public schools in those areas, one could argue that teacher turnover in the former institutions is not a particularly important problem. However, this would appear to be an erroneous position. First of all, it seems more reasonable to expect that the Federal government schools should at least be equal in all aspects of educational quality, including teacher turnover, to the national average. This is especially true if one considers that one goal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is that of operating "a model school system" for disadvantaged children. This implies a much lower turnover rate in Bureau schools than now prevails. Moreover, school districts in Western and Southwestern states do not have the recruiting and orientation facilities of the federal government.

In order to discuss policies for reduction of the level of teacher turnover in Bureau schools data are examined from the most recent survey (1964–67).

An analysis of teacher turnover in federal Indian schools by agency (see Appendix C) indicates that the greatest turnover occurs in those parts of the country that are relatively isolated such as Alaska, Montana and Wyoming and the lowest rates in the somewhat more heavily populated states of Oklahoma, Washington and Oregon. In addition, the teacher turnover rate in small day schools usually located in sparsely settled portions of the reservation, is about double the rate for non-reservation boarding schools which are usually located close to or in more populated areas.[63]

Moreover, over one-half of all teacher turnover occurs among teachers with less than two years experience. Less than 15 percent occurs among teachers with more than 5 years teaching experience. (See Appendix C for additional details). Since nearly one-half of the turnover occurs among teachers with only one year's experience in the system, it is important to examine the reasons these teachers gave for leaving. This information is presented in Table 5–8.

Thus over 50 percent of the teachers leaving the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools left for economic reasons or due to isolation.

It would appear that much of the turnover problem plaguing the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system can be traced to rigidity of the civil service system.

TABLE 5–8—*Reasons for leaving, Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers with 1 year's experience (1964–67)*

Principal reason for leaving:	*Percent leaving*
Deceased	1.72
Retired	1.72
Economic	13.22
Isolation	38.51
Maternity	5.75
Community diffiiculty	4.02
Marriage and homemaking	13.22
Military service	1.72
Return to school	20.11

Source: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, "Teacher Turnover Study" (1968), p. 58.

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[62] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, "Teacher Turnover Study," unpublished paper, 1968, p. 14.

[63] For example, three of the largest non-reservation boarding schools are Albuquerque Indian School, Phoenix Indian School and Sherman Institute located respectively in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Phoenix, Arizona and Riverside, California.

Although policy recommendations will be made in a later chapter some of the difficulties caused by these rigidities will be discussed now.

First, virtually all new teachers begin at the same starting salary (GS-7, $6,421, for 12 months). This starting salary is the same whether the teaching location is isolated or near a very populated area. It would seem more reasonable to adjust starting salaries and increments to reflect the disutility of a particular location. A single salary structure, unresponsive to where one is assigned is unrealistic and not only results in higher turnover in the more isolated areas but great difficulty in finding qualified individuals to fill portions even on a temporary basis.[64]

Secondly, the relative attractiveness of Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools is hampered and the feeling of isolation increased by the fact that new teachers receive only 2–3 weeks vacation compared to three months for public school teachers. Bureau teachers can take up to 30 days educational leave. However, since most summer school courses are 6–10 weeks teachers are often forced to use annual leave if they want to take courses for credit. Otherwise there is only enough leave to attend educational workshops.

Considering the amount of time teachers must be in the classroom, Bureau salaries (per hour) are not competitive with public schools. Starting salaries are about 5 percent higher for Bureau teachers compared to the U.S. average but Bureau teachers spend 25 percent more time in their classrooms.[65]

Finally, there is virtually no orientation for new teachers as to what to expect in regards to living and working conditions on an isolated Indian reservation. Since many of the teachers are recruited from the Eastern parts of the United States, they have had little or no experience with either an Indian culture or the sparsely settled regions of the country where the reservations are located. Perhaps an orientation before the teacher is sent to his position would frighten off many applicants, but at least those who did accept employment would have a reasonable idea of what conditions would be like.

Moreover, it might be possible by means of monetary incentives to encourage teachers with reservation experience to take positions in very isolated areas instead of assigning new teachers to these positions.

TRANSFER OF INDIAN EDUCATION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION AND WELFARE

In concluding this chapter on Indian education, it is important to examine a recent proposal which has occasionally been advocated by Congressmen and officials of Indian organizations; that is, transferring responsibility for Indian education to the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

It is argued that the Department of the Interior is a resource oriented agency; that is its primary concern is with the development of natural resources. However, the Office of Education is directly concerned with developing human resources and could concentrate solely on this task. In support of this argument it should be pointed out that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has much more adequate statistics on uses of Indian lands, forests, or minerals than the quality of human resources.[66]

Secondly, it can be pointed out that the U.S. Office of Education is, to some extent, research oriented and could utilize this research capability (especially via its regional education laboratories) to learn methods of improving Indian education. In contrast, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has almost no research capability and is thus terribly handicapped in trying to find solutions to such fundamental problems as high dropout rates, poor achievement levels or the types of secondary school education that should be offered.[67]

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[64] Levin has shown that a single salary structure in schools located in metropolitan areas results in shortages of teachers in those subjects where non-teaching alternatives in terms of salary are relatively high. For further information, see Henry M. Levin, *Recruiting Teachers for Large City Schools* (forthcoming, The Brookings Institution, 1969). Moreover, the Enki Corporation Evaluation Report indicated that Bureau Schools located in isolated areas found it virtually impossible to obtain qualified teachers to operate the Title I program.

[65] In most cases during the summer they are not teaching, but they are required to be there anyway.

[66] For example, the Annual Extension Report indicates that inventory of livestock owned by Indian families, cattle, beef; cattle dairy; sheep, goat, bulls, ewes, lamb, wethers and rams showing (a) beginning inventory (b) number purchased (c) number produced (d) number died or lost (e) used in home, by number and value (f) sold, number and value (g) closing inventory as of July 1, and (h) number of families owning.

Finally it is argued that it would be easier for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to obtain the necessary appropriations to operate an effective school system. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has not had especially good relations with Congress over the years and this has likely united their appropriations. Supporting this view is the fact that since 1955, when the Publc Health Service of HEW took over Indian Health from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, appropriations for Indian Health have increased substantially and levels of Indian Health have improved markedly.

It must be pointed out that there are many problems in Indian education which would not be solved by such a transfer of responsibility. For example, the problems of obtaining highly qualified teachers for very isolated reservations will not be solved unless there are reforms in existing pay scales and vacation policy. In addition, at least part of the problem of low achievement and dropouts is due to the poverty and lack of opportunity on the reservations. A shift of responsibility for Indian education will not change these conditions. Finally, while it may be true that under H.E.W. more money would be appropriated for Indian Education than is now the case, these funds may result in limited improvement unless they were spent effectively. Earlier it was noted that despite the fact that expenditures per student in Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools were above the national average in terms of accreditation status these institutions are inadequate.

SUMMARY

Indian children generally do not achieve as well on standardized tests as non-Indians. On the basis of limited data it appears that cultural factors are more important than income in explaining agency differences in achievement levels. However, it appears that income and educational attainment are closely associated with differences in reservation dropout rates. Thus, it appears that the low rate of return to high school completion (especially if one remains on the reservation) is an important reason why only one-half of Indian students are not completing high school.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has only provided limited offerings for vocational education since the late 1950's. On the basis of recent research in the economics of vocational education, this appears to be a questionable policy. However, until sufficient data are collected to undertake a benefit cost analysis, of the present Bureau program, recommendations for expansion of vocational offerings must be tentative.

The adult education program is inadequate. Many Indian communities lack an adult education program of any kind; the others are served by a limited one. Less than one percent of the educational budget is spent on adult education.

There is a severe manpower shortage regarding skilled non-teaching persnonel. The greatest need is for psychologists in the non-reservation boarding schools which contain a large number of children with mental or emotional problems. Guidance counselors need to be used more effectively, but there is also great need for more qualified counselors.

Teacher turnover in Bureau schools is at an unacceptably high level. To remedy this situation pay scales and leave policies must be modified. In addition, orientation should be given to prospective teachers before they are sent to the reservation.

MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR INDIAN AMERICANS

In order to ameliorate economic conditions and reduce surplus labor on the Indian reservations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has developed a variety of manpower programs. The first is essentially a relocation program in which an unemployed or underemployed Indian and his family are transported at government expense to a major urban center where employment is obtained for the breadwinner. The second program involves advanced vocational training, in an off reservation setting, usually in the city where training was provided.The third program is an on-the-job training program for Indians desiring to remain on the reservation. A fourth program which has only recently gone into operation is a pre-vocational training program for Indians who lack the education to qualify for advanced institutional training (see Appendix B).

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[67] As an example of the lack of research interest in educational problems by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it was not until 1968 that the Bureau ever initiated a survey of the dropout problem among American Indians. Moreover, the study was done by the U.S. Office of Education's Northwest Laboratory under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In order to draw policy conclusions regarding the efficacy of these programs the following criteria will be used to evaluate them:

1. What are the internal rate of return and benefit-cost ratios of the training and relocation programs? How do these compare with similar programs for non-Indians?
2. What is the effect of these programs as regards removal of those participants from poverty?
3. Was there a significant reduction in the unemployment rate of those Indians participating in the program? How does this reduction compare with that of other programs designed for non-Indians?
4. Did the investment in human capital involved in the Indian program stimulate the participants to undertake a further investment in human capital?
5. What is the dropout rate during training under these programs? How does it compare with the dropout rate for non-Indian training programs?
6. How useful is the training received? That is, how many Indians actually use their newly acquired skills in the jobs they obtain?
7. Did participation in these programs reduce the anti-social behavior of those involved?
8. What has been the effect of these programs on the overall progress of the Indian people?

The data sample

Much of the information to be used in evaluating the above mentioned Indian manpower programs is based on an unpublished survey of 327 individuals and family heads who participated in these programs during 1963. The sample is proportionately stratified to represent the actual percentages of persons participating in the programs. Thus, 33 percent of the sample consists of individuals who were relocated without training, 11 percent of the sample consists of individuals who received on-the-job training, and 56 percent of the sample consists of persons provided advanced institutional training prior to employment.

Data were collected on the participants' economic status for three years before undertaking training and/or relocation and for three and five years after training and/or relocation. These data were collected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs during January-June 1966 and a second follow-up was completed in the summer of 1968.[1]

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Before undertaking an analysis of Indian manpower programs, it is important to present a detailed description of these programs to determine their scope and the principal costs involved.

The first mass migration of Indians off the reservation took place in World War II. A total of 23,000 Indian men and 800 Indian women served in the Armed Forces. This amounted to 32 percent of all able bodied male Indians 18–50 years of age. An indeterminate number did not return to the reservations after the war, but in many cases remained in urban centers. In addition, during the war, 46,000 Indians left the reservation to obtain employment. About half of these went into industry where job shortages were severe and the other half into agricultural occupations.[2]

After the war, most of the Indians employed in defense related industries were laid off and a great proportion returned to the reservation. In 1948, a program of job placement services was established for Indians on the Navajo

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[1] Many studies, which focus on the increment of income due to a manpower program, employ a control group to indicate what income would have been if the individual had not participated in the manpower program. Although no control group was established when these data were collected, age earnings profiles of reservation Indians, derived from Census Bureau data, provide a tolerably good estimate of individual earnings had program participation not taken place. Moreover, control groups cannot effectively "control" for such intangible characteristics as personality, motivation or temperament. However, the sample data used in this study, since they refer to the economic status of individuals at different points in time, likely control for variations in the above mentioned characteristics.

[2] *International Labor Review*, Vol. 51, No. 6 (Montreal, Canada, June 1945), p. 781. Also it was estimated in 1944 that 14,059 Indians could have been recruited and placed in off-reservation employment by instituting more intensive recruitment and placement services and by making transportation more readily available.

Reservation.[3] At this time, many Navajos were engaged in seasonal farm and railroad work and the Bureau of Indian Affairs worked closely with the Arizona State Employment Service and the Railroad Retirement Board in expanding employment opportunities for Navajos both in Arizona and the nearby cities of Los Angeles, Denver, and Salt Lake City.

In the fall of 1950, the Bureau decided that it should launch a full-scale relocation program for those Indians who wished to seek permanent employment opportunities away from the reservations. The number of field or placement offices was expanded and now includes (1) Chicago, (2) Cleveland, (3) Dallas, (4) Denver, (5) Los Angeles, (6) Oakland, and (7) San Jose.[4]

The first relocatees were placed in February 1952 and since then the program has greatly expanded. Table 3–1 indicates the number of relocations for direct employment from fiscal year 1952 to 1967.

From 1952–1967 over 60,000 persons have been relocated as a result of the bureau's employment assistance program (see Table 3–2). Although the program grew rapidly from 1952–58, the annual number of Indians relocated since that time has stabilized. The principal reason for this is that to an increasing extent, Indians are being given either institutional or on-the-job training under programs to be described shortly.

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS (PLUS DEPENDENTS) AND COSTS, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS MANPOWER PROGRAMS, SELECTED YEARS 1952–67

Year	Direct employment		On-the-job training		Adult vocational training	
	Participants	Cost	Participants	Cost	Participants	Cost
1952	868	$567,480				
1954	2,553	577,763				
1956	5,119	991,617				
1958	5,728	3,163,671	207	$31,495	873	$515,515
1960	3,674	2,732,663	276	73,759	1,809	2,999,592
1962	3,494	3,100,000	736	187,400	2,500	3,312,600
1964	4,097	2,747,000	552	292,517	3,054	6,380,483
1966	3,747	3,007,000	1,302	520,075	5,502	10,868,925
1967	5,599	3,912,000	1,344	820,277	5,545	12,515,723
Total[1]	61,641		6,223		31,556	

[1] From inception of program.

Source: Program participants from unpublished tabulation computed by Branch of Employment Assistance, entitled "Statistical Summary of Activities from Inception of Individual Program Through June 30, 1967." Data on costs from unpublished tabulation provided by Branch of Employment Assistance.

The employment assistance program can best be described by indicating the various procedures involved. An Indian files an application for employment assistance with a local employment assistance officer on or adjacent to the reservation. After ascertaining the work preferences of the applicant, the employment assistance officer refers the Indian to the state employment service for aptitude testing (usually the General Aptitude Test Battery). After the examination the employment assistance officer discusses the results with the applicant and provides counseling on conditions to be encountered after relocation. The Indian and his family are then transported at government expense to one of the Bureau's seven employment assistance centers, all located in urban areas which were enumerated above. When the family (or single individual) arrives at the center, they are given low-cost temporary housing, additional counseling, and advice in job seeking. Later the family is aided in moving into permanent housing. After the inividual is placed in a position, he generally receives follow-up services for one year.

In addition to the services described above, the relocatee and his family are provided medical examinations, eyeglasses, the shipment of household goods at government expense, health benefits, and emergency financial assistance.[5]

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[3] Bureau of Indian Affairs, "The Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Employment Assistance Services Program" (mimeographed, 1960), p. 2.

[4] In addition, within the last year, two smaller centers have been opened in Tulsa, Oklahoma and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[5] It should be emphasized that is is a *voluntary* program. The Bureau of Indian Affairs does not pressure Indians in any way to apply for relocation.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Because many Indians prefer to remain on the reservation, no matter the economic consequences, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates an on-the-job training program designed to upgrade the skills of reservation Indians. Public Law 959 enacted in 1956 authorizes the Bureau of Indian Affairs to enter into contracts with private industry to provide on-the-job training for Indians between the ages of 18–35. The participating firms are required to have an existing on-the-job training program which will ultimately move the trainee into skilled employment. The Bureau of Indian Affairs reimburses the employer for one-half the minimum wage for each employee given on-the-job training.[6] This inducement is given for as long as the employee is given training. This training generally lasts from three months to two years depending on the occupation.[7] The employer providing the training agrees to retain the Indians as permanent employees if they have satisfactorily completed the training program. On-the-job training is generally provided on or near the reservation. For example, a recent Bureau of Indian Affairs study indicated that about 97 percent of the on-the-job training was conducted within the reservation area.[8]

Although the number of participants in the on-the-job training program has grown rapidly from 1964–67 (see Table 3–1) the total number entering training is relatively small when one considers that the total reservation labor force is 140,000. This situation is to a large extent not caused by any weakness in the program per se, but is related to the difficulty of inducing businessmen to locate plants on the reservation.[9] This reluctance is further indicated in the fact that in recent years Congress has allocated about twice as much money for on-the-job training as has actually been disbursed.[10]

In addition to reimbursing the participating firm for a portion of the trainees' wages, the Bureau of Indian Affairs pays the Indian's transportation cost to the training facility and subsistence enroute.

ADULT INSTITUTIONAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Partly as a result of the fact that so few Indians are employed in positions above the unskilled category, the Indian Vocational Training Act was enacted in 1956. This act made available a wide variety of courses which permit the Indian to upgrade his vocational skills. By 1966, vocational training courses in 125 different occupations had been approved at accredited schools in 26 states. These schools are located in both urban centers and near Indian reservations. However, whether or not the training is taken at an urban center, most graduates locate in the urban off-reservation areas.[11]

As in the case of the on-the-job training program, to be eligible an adult must be between the ages of 18–35 and be of one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood. The Bureau of Indian Affairs pays the trainee's and his family's (1) transportation to place of training and subsistence enroute; (2) subsistence during the course of training (including clothing); (3) tuition, books, supplies, and tools utilized in training.

Since 1960, the number of participants and total cost of the program has steadily increased (see Table 3–1). However, there are still as many Indians being relocated with no training as are receiving training under either of these two training programs.

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[6] Since virtually all Indians employed in factories, participating in the one the-job training program, begin at the minimum wage of $1.60 per hour, this means that the employer is receiving an $.80 per hour rebate for each employee hired.

[7] The length of training for the various positions is determined by the U.S. Department of Labor.

[8] Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Employment Assistance, "A Follow-up Study of 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program" (mimeographed, October 1966), p. 10.

[9] The problems of industrial development of the reservation will be treated in some detail later in this book.

[10] Based on unpublished data provided author by Branch of Employment Assistance. Other reasons for the discrepancy between allocation and disbursal, aside from lack of business interest, are cancellation of contracts due to firm bankruptcy or failure to operate a suitable training program.

[11] This is because the lack of economic opportunity on the reservation makes it likely that, even if the trainee were able to find a job, it would not be commensurate with his level of skill.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

This section of the chapter will present an evaluation of the relocation, on-the-job training and adult vocational training programs. (See Appendix B for a description and partial evaluation of the new prevocational and basic education programs operating in several residential training centers.) The criteria presented earlier will be employed.

Benefit-cost analysis

Participation in each of these programs can be though of by the enrollees and the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an investment in human capital.[12] These investments involve costs and render returns. By utilizing the relevant economic data on costs and returns it is possible to calculate the present value-cost ratio and the internal rate of return.[13]

The internal rate of return and present value-cost ratios will be computed under the assumption that the returns will accrue for the entire working life of the participant. Since the average migrant or trainee participating in these programs was 25 years of age, this means that returns are computed for 40 years (retirement is assumed at age 65).[14]

The discount rates to be employed are 5 and 10 percent. The discount rate of 5 percent reflects the rate on short-term government securities and the 10 percent figure, the rate of return on capital. It can be argued that the discount rate for low income individuals is much greater than 5 to 10 percent, but since this is a publicly supported program, this point does not seem to be particularly relevant.

Table 3–2 indicates the internal rate of return and present value cost ratios for participants in the various Bureau of Indian Affairs manpower programs.

The benefit-cost estimates present in Table 3–2 will be discussed in two ways. First, the results will be compared with similar programs for non-Indians. Secondly, the Indian programs will be compared with each other to ascertain which is the most effective.

Considering first the direct employment relocation program, the internal rate of returns of 127 percent is similar to the value of 106 percent for whites and 132 percent for nonwhites found by Osburn.[15] However, it is lower than the value of 400 percent obtained by Robbins in a study of low income migrants relocated with public funds from the eastern to the Piedmont section of North Carolina.[16]

The rate of return for on-the-job training (see Table 3–2) is much higher than that found by Mincer for metal, printing, and building apprentices. Mincer found that depending on alternative assumptions concerning income streams, the rate of return varied from 9.0 to 18.3 percent.[17] The rate of return for the Indian on-the-job training program is much higher because the training period is much higher because the training period is much shorter than in the apprenticeship programs examined by Mincer and, as a result, foregone earnings are lower in the former program. Moreover, there was a larger relative increment to income as a result of participation in the Indan on-the-job training program than the apprenticeship program examined by Mincer.

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[12] For earlier work treating migration as an investment in human capital see Larry A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," *Journal of Political Economy, Supplement*, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part 2 (October 1962), pp. 80–93. On-the-job training has been treated as an investment in human capital by Jacob Mincer in "On-the-Job Training: Costs Returns, and Some Implications," *Journal of Political Economy, Supplement*, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part 2 (October 1962), pp. 50–79. Carroll and Inhen have recently treated investment in vocational or technical schooling as another aspect of investment in human capital. See Adger B. Carroll and Loren A. Inhen, "Costs and Returns for Two Years of Postsecondary Technical Schooling: A Pilot Study," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 75, No. 6 (December 1967).

[13] The present value-cost ratios and internal rates of return to be presented below are biased in unknown direction because of two factors which cannot be evaluated in benefit-cost analysis. First, because Indian reservations contain close knit communities where English is often the second language, the psychic costs of relocation (with or without training) are very high. Moreover, another factor, which cannot be quantified is the non-money return arising from locational preferences to the extent that they represent consumption which has a zero cost of production. It is likely that for many Indians, this return is not of small magnitude. For example, many Indians prefer to settle in California presumably because the climate is not radically different from the Indian reservations on which they previously resided.

[14] This may be an overestimate of the length of time returns will accrue, since returns are adjusted using non-Indian mortality tables. The present life expectancy for reservation Indians is 63.5 years. While the improvement in housing and income that follows program participation undoubtedly increases the life span, it is unclear how much longer an Indian participating in these programs can expect to live in comparison with non-participants.

[15] D. D. Osburn, "Returns to Investment in Human Migration" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, North Carolina State University, 1966).

[16] Richard R. Robbins, "An Evaluation of Publicly Supported Mobility of Low-Income Rural Residents" (unpublished Masters thesis, North Carolina State University, 1967), p. 41. The reason that this program yielded a higher rate of return than the one for Indians is because costs in the former program per relocatee were lower and the incerment to income was higher.

[17] Mincer, "On-the-Job Training: Costs, Returns, and Some Implications," *op. cit.*, p. 64.

TABLE 3-2.—INTERNAL RATES OF RETURN, PRESENT VALUE COST RATIOS, PARTICIPANTS OF DIRECT EMPLOYMENT, ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, AND ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

	Direct employment	On-the-job training	Adult vocational training
1. Internal rate of return:			
Total	93	132	57
Men	88		63
Women	127		45
2. Benefit-cost ratio at 5-percent discount rate:			
Total	15.8:1	22.6:1	9.8:1
Men	15.0:1		10.7:1
Women	21.6:1		7.6:1
On reservation (men and women)	7.4:1		6.2:1
Near reservation (men and women)	6.5:1		11.9:1
Field office areas (men and women)	25.0:1		12.0:1
3. Benefit-cost ratio at 10-percent discount rate:			
Total	9.3:1	12.9:1	5.5:1
Men	9.8:1		6.1:1
Women	12.4:1		4.4:1
On reservation (men and women)	4.1:1		3.6:1
Near reservation (men and women)	3.7:1		6.8:1
Field office areas (men and women)	14.2:1		6.8:1

Source: Data on costs and returns derived from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Followup Study of the 1963 Recipients of the Employment Assistance Program" (mimeographed; October 1966), and revised version (July 1968). See app. A for the data used to derive the benefit cost estimates presented above as well as the methodology employed in obtaining these estimates.

Carroll and Inhen in their study of institutional vocational training found that depending on assumptions made about alternative income streams, the rate of return to technical training varied from 11.7 to 16.5 percent.[18] Part of the difference between their findings and those for the Indian vocational training program (see Table 3–2) is the fact that the increments of income after training were greater than that for those receiving training in the institution examined in the Carroll-Inhen Study.

The present value-cost ratios for the Indian Adult Vocational Training Program are similar to the findings of Ribich, who examined the benefits and costs of three *retraining* programs undertaken by the states of Connecticut, West Virginia, and Massachusetts (Connecticut and West Virginia collaborated with the Area Redevelopment Administration). Most of the workers in Connecticut were trained in machine shop operations, pipefitting, and shipfitting. Over half of the Massachusetts group was enrolled in schools for barbers and technicians, and the remaining trainees were spread over a variety of fields from drafting to auto repair. The West Virginia program included auto repair, construction trades, electrical maintenance, riveters, welders; and for women, nurses' aides, typists-stenograaphers, and waitresses.[19]

Ribich found, assuming a 5 percent rate of discount, benefit streams continuing to age 65 (adjusted for mortality), a benefit-cost ratio of 10.1 : for the Connecticut retraining program, 4.2 :1 for the Massachusetts retraining program and 14.1 :1 for the West Virginia program.[20]

It is interesting to compare the benefit-cost ratios for the Indian adult vocational training program with the benefit-cost ratio for the Job Corps. Both programs provide vocational training in an institutional setting; however, the Job Corps also provides basic education. In a study of the Job Corps, Cain concluded that the "realistic" ratio of benefits to costs was 1.18, ranging from 1.05 to 1.69, depending on a variety of assumptions.[21]

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[18] Carroll and Inhen, "On-the-Job Training: Costs, Returns, and Some Implications," *op. cit.*, p. 868.

[19] Thomas I. Ribich, *Education and Poverty* (The Brookings Institution, 1968), Chapter 3, pp. 9–10.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 27. Notice that Ribich's investigation involves *retraining* which implies that one is being taught a different skill from that originally possessed. However, vocational training for Indians involves teaching previously unskilled individuals a skill.

[21] Glen G. Cain, "Benefit-Cost Estimates of Job Corps," Office of Economic Opportunity (May 22, 1967).

The information presented in Table 3–2 indicates that in terms of the benefit-cost criteria, the on-the-job training program is the most successful, followed by the direct employment program and the adult vocational training program. While incomes after participation in the direct employment program are slightly higher than the on-the-job training program (see Appendix A), the cost per trainee and foregone earnings in the OJT program are only slightly more than half the cost per relocatee in the direct employment program.

Moreover, although the earnings after participation in the adult vocational training program are higher than the other two Indian manpower programs, the benefit-cost ratio is lower because foregone earnings and training costs under the technical training program are double the cost per relocatee (no training) and 4 times the cost per trainee under the on-the-job training program.[22]

It is interesting to note that three years after program participation, those participants in the direct employment program who remained in the urban centers to which they were relocated, were earning $1,450 more per year than those who returned to the reservation. Moreover, those vocational trainees who remained in the urban centers where they were trained, earned $710 more per year three years after training than those who returned to the reservation. Since the benefit-cost ratios presented above include both those who remained in urban centers and those who returned to the reservation, it follows that if more program participants can be induced to remain in the urban centers to which they are originally placed, the benefit-cost ratios of the direct employment and vocational training programs would be even higher.

INDIAN MANPOWER PROGRAMS AND POVERTY

While it is true that in terms of the benefit-cost ratio the programs under discussion are highly successful, it is important to ascertain how successful these programs are in removing the Indian from poverty. Using comparative figures from the *Social Security Bulletin* of January 1965 for poverty level income in 1963, and the *Social Security Bulletin* of March 1968 for poverty level income by number of dependents, and location, it is possible to estimate what percentage of the program recipients were earning incomes above the poverty level.[23] This information is presented in Table 3–3.

TABLE 3–3.—PERCENTAGE OF PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS EARNING INCOMES ABOVE THE POVERTY LEVEL, 1963, 1966

Year	Percentage above poverty level		
	Direct employment	On-the-job training	Adult vocational training
1963	25	28	27
1966	52	53	60

Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Followup Study of 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program" (July 1968), revised version. Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin (January 1965; March 1968).

It appears that while the incidence of poverty welfare participation was similar for each program, fewer adult vocational trainees earned incomes below the poverty level three years after participation, as compared with the other two programs. This is not surprising since the incomes of participants in the adult vocational training program were higher (3 years after training) than was the case for the other two programs. (See Appendix A.) It is interesting to note that even though the average income of on-the-job training participants

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[22] One can argue that the data in Table 3–2 are biased upward as regards the effectiveness of the adult-vocational training program. Since vocational trainees are both *trained* and *relocated*, it can be maintained that much of the earnings increment received by the advanced institutional trainees was, in fact, not due to training but migration. (See Appendix A for an attempt to adjust for this.) Moreover, the average level of schooling of the adult vocational trainees was approximately 1.5 years greater than that for the direct migrants or on-the-job trainees. Thus, part of the increment in income received by the technical trainees may be ascribed to their education.

[23] Since the income data utilized in this study refer only to the program participants and not their families, poverty calculations are based on the assumption of no dependents. Another method of calculating the incidence of poverty would be to include dependents and their earnings in the calculations. It is doubtful whether the results obtained would differ greatly using the latter as compared to the former method.

(3 years after training) is $380 less than for those participating in the direct employment program (3 years after relocation) the incidence of poverty is the same for both groups.[24] This is because the poverty level threshold is considerably lower in a rural area, where most of the on-the-job training program recipients were residing, as compared to urban areas where many relocatees were residing.

Although program participants had a sharply lower incidence of poverty 3 years after relocation and/or training, nearly one-half of these individuals had incomes below the poverty threshold.

REDUCTION IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Since program participation increases the productivity of the individuals involved, one would expect that unemployment rates would be lower after training and/or relocation than before.[25]

Although it would be desirable to directly compare the unemployment rates of the Indians in our sample before and after receiving Bureau services, data are available only on unemployment rates after receiving services. However, it is possible to derive a fairly reasonable estimate of the unemployment rate before receiving services.

A comparison of earnings of our sample of program participants, before receiving services, with all reservation Indians of comparable age indicates that incomes are quite similar. Moreover, a study of on-the-job trainees on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation indicated that their unemployment rates before training were approximately equal to the unemployment rate of the entire reservation.[26] Thus, on the basis of limited evidence it is likely that the labor force status of program participants before training and/or relocation is not significantly different than non-participants. In 1963 (the year our sample of Indians received Bureau services), the unemployment rate for reservation Indians was 43 percent.[27] Table 3-4 presents data on the labor force status of beneficiaries before and after program participation.

TABLE 3-4.—LABOR FORCE STATUS BEFORE AND AFTER PARTICIPATION IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS MANPOWER PROGRAMS, 1963, 1966, AND 1968

Labor force status	Direct employment			On-the-job training			Adult vocational training		
	1963[1]	1966	1968	1963[1]	1966	1968	1963[1]	1966	1968
Employed	35–40	69	75	35–40	80	72	35–40	68	71
Unemployed	40–50	20	18	40–50	6	8	40–50	10	6
Not in labor force	20–25	11	7	20–25	14	20	20–25	22	23

Source: The 1963 labor force participation rate estimate based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, Nonwhite Population by Race (1963), table 33, p. 104. Data for 1966 and 1968 from Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Followup of 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program" (July 1968), revised version.

[1] Unemployment estimate described in text.

Examining first the data on direct migrants, it appears (to the extent that the 1963 estimates are reasonably accurate) that unemployment was sharply lower 3–5 years after migration when compared to pre-migration levels. However, they are much higher than the unemployment rates for non-Indians of comparable age and education. For example, in 1966 the sample of relocatees had about 10.5 years of schooling and were 25 years old. Non-Indians of this age and level of schooling had an unemployment rate of 7 percent, as compared to 20 percent for the Indians in the sample.[28]

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[24] Thus, an Indian who remains on the reservation and undergoes training earns nearly $400 less per year than an Indian who migrates with no training.

[25] One would expect that even though the direct migrants (relocatees) received no training, their productivity would have increased, and their susceptibility to unemployment decreased, as a result of migration. This is because labor is being transferred from an area of redundancy (on Indian reservation) to an area of relative shortage.

[26] Missouri River Basin Investigation Project, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "The Social and Economic Effects of Reservation Employment of Indian Employees and Their Families" (Billings, Montana, 1968), p. 59.

[27] Computed and seasonally adjusted from data contained in unpublished tabulation, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Selected Data on Indian Reservations Eligible for Designation under Public Works and Economic Development Act" (December 1966).

It is interesting to compare the unemployment rates in cities where the Bureau of Indian Affairs has employment assistance centers with the national average (for Indians and non-Indians). Since many Indians tend to remain in the city to which they were originally relocated, it is important to escertain the relative demand for labor in these urban areas. (See Appendix C.)

With the exception of cities in California, the metropolitan areas employed as field offices had unemployment rates (for Indians and non-Indians) below the national average. However, the cities in California (except for San Diego) have unemployment rates moderately above the national average.

Bureau of Indian Affairs employment assistance officials argue that since the Bureau has an extensive placement and job referral service that the unemployment rate in a particular city is not relevant.[29] However, the fact that the unemployment rate for relocatees in the sample was several times that of non-Indians of comparable age and education, indicates the serious unemployment problems among Indian relocatees.[30]

Considering the on-the-job trainees, it is interesting to note that in 1966 the unemployment rate of our sample of trainees was lower than for the participants in the other programs and nearly as low in 1968 at the adult vocational trainees (see Table 3–4). Since the employer is obligated to hire all of the trainees who complete the training program, the relatively low unemployment rates for this group are not unexpected.

It is important to note the changes in the pattern of labor force participation for the trainees. Before training was undertaken, an estimated 20–25 percent were not in the labor market. Because of the high unemployment rate on Indian reservations, it is likely that this high level of nonparticipation was primarily due to the belief that no jobs were available. However, after factories began locating on the reservations with the concomitant establishment of on-the-job training programs, a number of these individuals sought and found employment, and by 1966, the labor force participation rate of those trained in 1963 was relatively high. However, between 1966 and 1968, the labor force participation rate of the trainee sample declined as a number of female former trainees left the labor force to become housewives.

Although vocational trainees experienced sharply lower unemployment rates after receiving training, their rates are still considerably above that for non-Indians of comparable age and education. For example, in 1966, the unemployment rate for 25 year old non-Indian high school graduates (the average age and level of schooling of the vocational trainees) was 4.8 percent compared to 10 percent for the voctional trainees.[31]

Some of the discrepancy in the unemployment rates between Indians and non-Indians of comparable age and education is likely due to problems of adjustment of the former. Since about 63 percent of the Indians participating in the Bureau's manpower programs were either seven-eighths or full blood Indians, it is likely that the cultural shock of leaving the reservation cause problems of adjustment and concomitantly of unemployment.

It appears that the Bureau of Indian Affairs manpower programs are about as successful in reducing the unemployment rates of participants as several well known programs which enroll non-Indians, namely, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Work Experience and Training Program designed primarily for welfare recipients. (See Appendix C.) However, the MDTA program appears to affect a greater *absolute* decline in the unemployment rates of participants than the Indian Manpower Programs, although the unemployment rates after participation in MDTA are about double the unemployment rates after participation in Indian manpower programs.

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[28] Harvey R. Hamel, "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1966." *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. (June 1967) (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report No. 83, Table A–15, reprint).

[29] Interview with Employment Assistant Officer, Branch of Employment Assistance, August 1968. On my field trip to Indian reservations, several employment assistance officials thought that Los Angeles was the best city to send Indians because of the large number of jobs there. However, it is not the *absolute* demand for labor which is the relevant variable, but the *relative* demand for labor.

[30] Part of the unemployment problem of the relocatees is caused by the fact that by 1966–68 many had drifted back to the reservation, and since they were generally unskilled, they found considerable difficulty in securing employment.

[31] Hamel, "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1966," *op. cit.*

FURTHER INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL

One of the more interesting aspects of investment in human capital is that an initial investment often stimulates an additional investment in human capital. For example, Mincer found that the amount of on-the-job training received by individuals is positively associated with the level of educational attainment.[32]

Table 3–5 presents data on the educational achievement of the sample of Indian Manpower participants in 1966 and 1968.

TABLE 3-5.—EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS MANPOWER PROGRAMS, 1966 AND 1968

	Direct employment		On-the-job training		Adult vocational training	
Years of school	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968
0 to 8	31.0	23.0	28.0	22.0	9	9
9 to 11	33.0	36.0	41.0	47.0	23	21
12 or more	36.0	41.0	31.0	31.0	68	70
Median	10.6	11.1	10.5	11.0	+12	+12

Source: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Followup Study of 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program," revised version (July 1968).

The data indicate an increase in the educational attainment of the sample of participants with the median level of schooling of the relocatees (direct employment) and on-the-job trainees increasing one half year. However, Table 3–5 gives an incomplete picture of the additional investment in human capital made by the sample of program participants. For example, by 1966, it was reported that 14 percent of the direct migrants (relocated in 1963) had attended night school and by 1968 this figure had increased to 39 percent.[33] By 1966, only 3 percent of the on-the-job trainees (trained in 1963) had attended night school. However, by 1968, this figure had increased to 25 percent of all on-the-job trainees included in the sample. Although this represents a substantial increase from 1966 to 1968 in the number of former trainees continuing their education, it was substantially below the 39 percent direct migrants who had made an additional investment in human capital. The lower level of night school attendance for the on-the-job trainees is partly caused by the lack of an adequate adult education program on the reservations (where most of the former on-the-job trainees reside) as compared to off-reservation locations (where most of the relocatees are living).[34]

By 1966, 17 percent of the sample of vocational trainees (trained in 1963) had attended or were attending night school since taking adult vocational training. By 1968, 36 percent of all vocational trainees in the sample had received additional education in night school.

It is interesting to compare the proportion of night school attendance among relocatees (no training) and the vocational trainees, as both had the same opportunity to further their education. Since high school graduation often means the difference between employment in unskilled jobs versus semi-skilled or skilled employment, one might argue that the relocatees had more of an incentive to attend night school since a minority were high school graduates (see Table 3–5), while a majority of the vocational trainees were high school graduates. Yet to the extent that investment in human capital sitmulates further investment, the additional education of the vocational trainees plus their training would give this group additional incentive to further their schooling. Perhaps since both groups furthered their education approximately the same extent, that the additional incentive to finish high school felt by the direct migrants was matched by the stimulating effect for the trainees of high school graduation and post secondary training, vis a vis further investment in human capital.[35]

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[32] On a related point, Weisbrod points out that one of the "benefits" of achieving a certain level of schooling is that it permits one to take advantage of even more schooling. This point could be applied to other types of human capital.

[33] This latter figure seems quite high when on considers the relatively low incomes in comparison with non-Indians and the fact that the expenses are borne by the Indians themselves.

[34] The annual publication, "Statistics Concerning Indian Education," indicates that in recent years, many additional Indian communities have established adult education programs. However, there are still hundreds of Indian communities, particularly in Alaska (where 12 percent of the total population receiving Bureau of Indian Affairs' services reside), who have no adult education programs.

It appears that our sample of Indian manpower program participants had a greater tendency to make a subsequent investment in human capital than those participating in the other federal manpower progrms. For example, only 6.0 percent of the Job Corps participants received additional education or training after leaving the Job Corps, compared with 10.2 percent of the participants in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and 4.5 percent of those enrolled in the Work Experience and Training Program.[36]

DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

Because the information to be presented in this section is extensive and detailed, the problem of dropouts and/or returnees for each Indian manpower program will be discussed in turn, after which, a comparison will be made with other federal manpower programs.

Concerning the direct migrants (no training) it is a fact that a large proportion of relocatees do return to the reservation from which they were sent.[37]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained statistics from 1953–57 on the number of relocatees who returned to the reservation *during the fical year in which they were sent* (see Appendix C).

These statistics indicate that three out of ten relocatees returned home the same year in which they were relocated. What these data do not indicate is how many Indians eventually returned home. The figure is no doubt much higher.[38]

In 1958, the Comptroller General's annual report criticized the Bureau of Indian Affairs for maintaining inadequate statistics on various phases of its activities including the relocation program. In 1959, in response to the criticism, the Bureau *eliminated* it statistical series on the status (returnee or nonreturnee) of Indians. The Bureau felt that statistics on returnees were giving too much ammunition to critics of the program.[39]

Most of the research on the characteristics of Indian migrants who return home has been done by anthropologists. Martin has shown that Indians who are younger in age, higher in level of educational attainment, and of mixed blood, are more likely to make a successful adjustment to an urban environment than older less educated, full blood Indians.[40] Graves and Van Arsdale have shown that the principal factor causing Indian migrants to leave Denver and return to the reservation is their economic success.[41] Since older, less educated Indians may have more difficulty in finding and holding a job, Martin's finding is not surprising.[42] In recent years most Indian migrants to Chicago and Denver have begun to form Indian residential enclaves or ghettos.

Ablon has found that when an Indian gets into economic difficulty he does not take his problem to a community welfare agency (which in many cases he probably does not know exists), but instead tends to return home.[43]

In a study of Navajo relocation, Cullum pointed out:

"The only sharply positive findings . . . related to attendance at public schools and previous occupational experience at school trades. Definitely negative findings emerged with regard to families containing five or more children, to heads of families over forty, and in lesser degree to persons completing less than four grades of school. The person using alcoholic beverage to excess did poorly." [44]

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[35] A simpler explanation for the tendency of both groups to further their education to the same extent is that the opportunities for additional schooling were similar.

[36] Data on the Job Corps from Louis Harris and Associates, "A Continuous Study of Job Corps Termination" (May 1967). Data for Neighborhood Youth Corps from Sar A. Levitan, *Anti-Poverty Work and Training: Goals and Reality* (Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, 1967), p. 62. Data for Work Experience and Training, see *Ibid.*, p. 96. These data must be interpreted cautiously since it is not clear from the data how long a period of time had passed since the participants in the programs enrolling primarily non-Indians had been separated from them.

[37] This does not necessarily indicate that the Indian and his family have failed to adjust to urban living. It is possible that the relocated Indian may return to the reservation because of expanded employment opportunities there. However, because of the great earnings differential between migrants who remain in urban areas and those who return to the reservation (see Appendix A), it is likely that most migrants who return to the reservation suffer an income loss.

[38] For example, in our sample of 1963 program recipients, only 20 percent were still residing during 1968 in the urban areas to which they were relocated in 1963.

[39] Interview with Employment Assistance Officer, Branch of Employment Assistance (July 1968).

[40] Harry W. Martin, "Correlates of Adjustment Among American Indians in an Urban Environment," *Human Organization*, Vol. 23 (Winter 1964).

[41] Theodore D. Graves and Minor Van Arsdale, "Values, Expectations, and Relocation: The Navajo Migrant to Denver," *Human Organization*, Vol. 26 (Winter 1966), p. 283.

[43] Ablon, "American Indian Relocation: Problems of Dependency and Management in the City," *op. cit.*, p. 367.

Although not examined directly by anthropologists or others concerned with the returnee rate of Indian migrants, it is likely that two variables which can be directly manipulated by Bureau of Indian Affairs policy makers exercise a profound effect on the returnee rate. One is the locations to which relocatees are sent. The other is the level of follow-up given relocatees. From the inception of the relocation program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has generally stressed the movement of Indians to major metropolitan centers, including several of the largest cities in the country. The strain of adjusting to the highly competitive fast-paced life of a large city, with its seemingly endless rules and regulations, after one has lived all his life on a tranquil Indian reservation, is likely quite difficult.[45] Moreover, for many Indians, the relocation centers are so far from the reservation that traditional family ties must be servered.

Secondly, except on an emergency basis, the Bureau of Indian Affairs generally limits the follow-up of relocated Indians to one year. It is argued that to continue services after that period of time, prevents the Indian from becoming self-sufficient—a major Bureau goal. However, it seems unnecessary to take such a rigid position on the matter. It seems obvious that some individuals will need more follow-up services than other and that an extension of follow-up services beyond the one year limit for those unadjusted to urban life is not unreasonable. Moreover, on the basis of research and discussions with local reservation employment assistance officers, it appears that there is great variation in returnee rates by tribe.[46] This may indicate that the cultural patterns of certain tribes are more dissonant when compared with life in a major metropolitan area. In any event, it may prove feasible to extend special follow-up services to relocatees from certain tribes which show persistently high returnee rates.

One of the most discouraging aspects of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on-the-job training program, is the high number of participants who voluntarily leave the program before completing training.[47] Not only is the program dropout faced with finding employment in a reservation economy where unemployment rates of 40–60 percent are the rule, but fragmentary data suggest that from the standpoint of the benefit-cost criterion, benefits increase at an increasing rate when considering time spent in training. Thus, a program with a high percentage of graduates will have a greater benefit-cost ratio than a program with fewer graduates even if the intial costs were the same in both programs and increased at the same rate over time.[48] This point is illustrated in Figure 3–1, which indicates that the benefit-cost ratio is less than unity for an individual separated from training after three months and equal to unity when considering an individual who left a program after six months.

Recent statistics on dropouts from the Indian on-the-job training program, indicate that about 47 percent of all enrollees in the Bureau's on-the-job training program terminate without completing training (see Appendix C). This is much higher than the dropout rate of 15–20 percent from the MDTA on-the-job training program.[49]

In order to determine the factors associated with the dropout rate from the Indian on-the-job training program, two types of investigations were under-

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[44] Robert M. Cullum, "Assisted Navajo Relocation, 1952–1956," mimeographed, p. 8.

[45] For example, in the Cullum study of Navajo returnees, 53.1 percent listed adjustment problems as their reason for returning. The largest single cause listed was excessive use of alcohol which was offered by 15 percent of all those returning to the reservation.

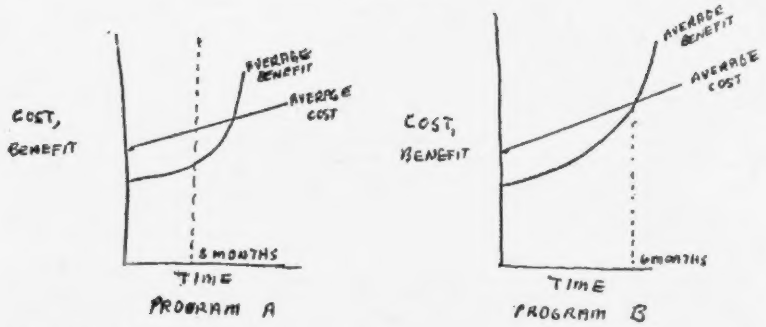
[46] For example, a recent study of the Salt River Reservation in Utah indicates that from 1959–1964, 97 percent of those relocated returned to the reservation. See Harry W. Martin, Robert W. Leon and John H. Gladfelter, "The Salt River Reservation, A Proposal for the Development of Its Human and Natural Resources," mimeographed (May 1967), p. 11. However, on the basis of an interview with the employment assistance officer at Yakina, it appears that only 20 percent of the relocatees return to the reservation.

[47] The analysis to be presented below on dropout rates refer to *all* Indians who have participated in the on-the-job training program, and not to a sample of trainees.

[48] For example, two-thirds of those who stayed in the Job Corps six months or longer were working half a year after they left, an increase in their employment status of 12 percent over their pre-training status. For those who stayed less than three months, their employment rate was actually lower after training than before training. Although both groups had identical wage rates before training, those who left after six months of training earned a median of 32 cents more per hour than before training. However, those who left after three months or less, earned 15 cents more per hour than before training. For further information see Sar A. Levitan, *Anti-Poverty Work and Training: Goals and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[49] U.S. Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President, 1967* (1967), p. 97.

FIGURE 3-1



taken. The first relates the dropout rate to the type of product manufactured by the firm providing the training; the second relates the dropout rate to the size of the firm providing the training.

It appears that there is little variation in the dropout rate for on-the-job trainees by type of product manufactured (see Appendix C). The dropout rate for seven of the occupational categories, enrolling 71 percent of all trainees, varies from only 38–45 percent. The dropout rate for trainees in firms manufacturing three other products was 53–54 percent. Thus, while the type of product produced may be of some importance in determining the on-the-job training dropout rate, it does not appear to be of major importance.[50]

Information on the dropout rate by size of training program is presented in Table 3–6.

Table 3–6.—*Dropout rate for on-the-job trainees by size of training program.*

Number of trainees:	*Dropout rate*
0 to 30	52.9
31 to 100	47.1
101 to more	43.7

Source: Computed from data contained in Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Statistical Summary of Activities from Inception of Individual Programs Through June 30, 1967."

According to Table 3–6, nearly 10 percent more trainees left the program when there were 30 or less trainees as compared to the case when there were more than 100 trainees. There are likely several important reasons for this variation in dropout rate by size of program:

1. Firms which enroll a low number of trainees tend to be small marginal firms which are under a great deal of competitive pressure for survival. As a consequence, great stress is placed on the employees to bring productivity up to maximum levels in a short time. Many of the trainees cannot function in this environment and voluntarily separate from the program.

2. In small firms which tend to enroll fewer trainees there is more interpersonal communiation between the officials and the trainees than in a larger firm. These officials criticize the progress of the trainees just as they would if the program were primarily designed for non-Indians.[51] However, although generalities concerning cultural differences can be dangerous, it appears that Indians are much more sensitive to criticism, especially if the criticism is given while fellow em-

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[50] Two of the "high dropout" occupations are diamond processing and women's fashion specialty items. Diamond processing is the most highly skilled occupation for which an on-the-job training program has been operated. It is likely that the high dropout rate for this training program is due to the difficulty of the occupation. In addition, the item "women's fashion specialty items" includes mainly the making of wigs by the intricate process of putting in one hair at a time. It appears that a majority of Indians did not have the patience for this type of work.

[51] At one firm on a reservation in South Dakota, which manufactured wood and plastic products, the owner made a regular practice of going up and down the assembly line screaming at employees for the slightest mistake. The employees reacted by engaging in various acts of industrial sabotage. Based on interview with Bureau of Indian Affairs Housing Officer, Rosebud Reservation, July 1968.

ployees are in the employee's presence, than non-Indians. Thus, the Indian often reacts to this "public criticism" not by improving his productivity but by quitting. However, larger firms operating more extensive programs usually provide for the teaching and training of present enrollees by former trainees who, being Indians themselves, use methods of criticism which do not hurt and embarrass the trainee. This factor tends to lower the separation rate for firms with large training programs.

3. Partly because small firms enrolling few trainees often tend to be marginal enterprises, they do not always operate good training programs from the standpoint of teaching effectiveness, in comparison with large firms. Enrollees in the former situation, tend to become discouraged and leave the program. Firms operating large training programs tend to have more people in guidance work and more effective personnel managers. These individuals not only help the trainee over any adjustment problems, but tend to screen out applicants who would not find adjustment to industrial employment easy.[52]

Although the trainee dropout rate in comparing firms with 30 or less trainees with those having over 100 trainees is significantly different, it still appears that other factors than those discussed are important in understanding the high dropout rate from this program. Other factors such as length of training, experience of the firm in operating training programs, and the wages paid after training is completed, may all have an effect on the dropout rate vis a vis the different firms. Perhaps, in time, data will be available to determine the relative importance of these factors.

To take the opposite view, there is one factor which may tend to make the dropout rate uniform between firms even though the conditions and type of training vary. That factor is the cultural background and lack of industrial discipline of the reservation Indian. Before a factory locates on a reservation, most Indians have never seen a manufacturing plant, let alone worked in one. The lack of sustained employment experience, of industrial discipline, and personal responsibility must be thoroughly changed if the trainee is to become an effective employee. It is this process of adjustment, this making of pastoral man into industrial man (at a much faster rate than was ever achieved among non-Indians), which exercises a profound influence on the separation rate.

Most dropouts from adult vocational training are unable to secure work in the field for which they were being trained. This, plus the relatively high investment cost per trainee, makes it vitally important to attempt to keep the proportion of dropouts at a minimum level.

Recent statistics indicate that about one-third of all adult vocational trainees fails to complete training (see Appendix C). While this is higher than the dropout rate for participants in the MDTA program (15–20 percent), it is much lower than the dropout rate for Job Corps enrollees (71 percent).[53]

In order to shed light on some of the factors associated with separation from the adult vocational training program, dropout rates were analyzed by type of course, length of course, and education requirement before enrolling. The basic information is presented in Appendix C for all courses enrolling fifty or more students from 1958–1962.

It appears that there is considerable variability in dropout rates by course. For example, the welding, heavy equipment, and auto diesel mechanic courses have dropout rates of less than 25 percent, while the practical nurse, cooking, and accounting courses have dropout rates of more than 45 percent. In order to attempt an explanation of this variability in dropout rates, an analysis was made of separation rates by length of course and level of formal schooling required. The results are presented below.

Length of training required	Years of school required for admission	
	Less than 12	12
12 months or more	0.38	0.37
11 months or less	.28	.32

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[52] Because of the high rate of unemployment on most Indian reservations, firms operating training programs usually have many more applicants than they can use. Thus highly selective screening is feasible.

[53] Data for MDTA (for 1965 trainees only) are from *Manpower Report of the President, 1967* (1967), p. 97. Data for Job Corps enrollees from Louis Harris and Associates, "A Continuous Study of Job Corps Termination," May 1967.

The above tabulation indicates that for either level of schooling required for enrollment, dropout rates were positively related to the length of course. This was especially true for those enrollees with less than 12 years of schooling. Although those with less than a high school education had slightly less tendency to leave the program (32.5 percent dropout rate for non-high school graduates as compared to 35.5 percent for high school graduates), this difference was concentrated mainly in courses of less than a year's duration. Courses lasting a year or longer showed little difference in variation in dropout rate by formal schooling of enrollees (38 percent vs. 37 percent).

The variation in dropout rate by length of training, especially for non-high school graduates seems a reasonable finding. Enrollees in courses of one year or more duration may become discouraged if completion still seems far in the future. Moreover, the lengthier training period allows more of an opportunity for such random factors as illness, death in the family, or marital problems to affect a trainee's status.

It is likely that other factors for which data are not available also cause variation in dropout rates between courses. Such factors as size of classes, sex of trainee, job opportunities in the field if partially trained, and the availability of specialized skils required in certain courses may all have a profound effect on dropout rates.

EMPLOYMENT RELATED TO TRAINING

One of the methods of measuring the effectiveness of a manpower training program is to ascertain what proportion of the graduates are employed in positions related to their training. For example, data for our sample of on-the-job trainees indicated that in 1966 (2–3 years after participating in the program) 67 percent of these individuals were in training-related occupations and by 1968, 52 percent of these individuals were employed on jobs directly related to the skill learned during their training.[54]

It is difficult to determine whether these percentages are sufficiently high that this aspect of the program could be deemed successful. For example, as one portion of the Manpower Development and Training Act, the federal government administers an on-the-job training program. During the 1967 fiscal year, 54,500 trainees completed on-the-job training projects. Post-training followup in early 1968 indicated that 90 percent of those completing such projects are regularly employed, 95 percent of them in training-related work.[55]

At first glance it appears that a far higher percentage of trainees was employed in training-related work in the MDTA on-the-job training program as compared with the Bureau of Indian Affairs Program. However, the data for the Bureau of Indian Affairs trainees was gathered two to three, and four to five years after training, while the data for the MDTA trainees were obtained nine to twelve months after completion of training. In an economy with a great deal of job mobility such as that of the United States, it is possible that after several years the number of MDTA training graduates in employment related to their training will decline substantially. Moreover, the participants in the training program for American Indians are faced with a problem which exists to a much lesser extent for the MDTA trainees—that is, the closing of the factories in which they are employed. Of the twelve reservations recently visited by the author, six of them had recently experienced plant closings. Since industrial development of the Indian reservations is so limited, the closing of a plant in which training was undertaken, forces the trainee, who desires to remain on the reservation to seek employment outside the area of his training specialty. According to the follow-up survey of adult vocational trainees (training given in 1963–64), 61 percent of the trainees were in employment related to training and in 1968, 59 percent of this group were in employment related to training.[56] This is comparable with the figure of 55 percent for MDTA graduates (not including on-the-job trainees) but higher than the 20–30 percent of Job Corps graduates in employment related to training.[57]

The biggest factor which lowers the ratio of those working in jobs related to training as compared to all adult vocational trainees is that many return to the reservation hoping that there will be a demand for their skills there. In the majority of cases these returnees are disappointed.[58] Moreover, about 20 percent of the trainees separate from the program without enough training for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be able to place them in a position related to their training.[59]

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[54] Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Followup Study of the 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program" (October 1966), p. 30, and revised version (July 1968), p. 19.

[55] *Manpower Report of the President, 1968.*

[56] "A Followup of 1963 Recipients of the Employment Assistance Program," *op. cit.*

[57] Data for MDTA trainees, 65 percent of whom were classified as "disadvantaged," from *Manpower Report of the President, 1968*; data for Job Corpsmen from Harris, "A Continuous Study of Job Corps Termination," *op. cit.*

CHANGES IN BEHAVIOR

One of the non-economic benefits of a manpower program for the disadvantaged, is the decline in the degree of anti-social behavior of the participants. One way to measure anti-social behavior is to examine an individual's arrest record.[60] Thus, if program participants show a decrease in arrest after participating in a manpower program as compared with the level prior to participation, it seems reasonable to conclude that a decline in anti-social behavior has taken place. Table 3–7 indicates the number of arrests three years before and after participating in the various manpower programs. Table 3–7 indicates that there was a substantial decline in the tendency to be arrested for the participants in all three programs. (The data for the on-the-job trainees should be accepted cautiously since there was such a small sample involved.)

TABLE 3-7.—ARREST RECORDS 1960-62 AND 1964-66, SAMPLE OF PARTICIPANTS IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS MANPOWER PROGRAMS [1]

[In percent]

	Direct migrants	On-the-job training	Adult vocational training
Arrests 1960-62	51	9	40
Arrests 1964-66	21	6	38
Percent decline	−59	−33	−38

[1] No distinction was made between misdemeanors and felonies.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Employment Assistance, "A Followup Study of 1963 Recipients of the Services of the Employment Assistance Program" (October 1966), pp. 21, 34, 47.

It is interesting to note the smaller decline in the level of arrests for vocational trainees as compared to relocatees (no training). This difference is likely not due to economic factors since the vocational trainees earn more money and have less unemployment than the relocatees. Perhaps the pressure placed on the vocational trainees in their skilled and semi-skilled positions (as compared to the higher proportion of relocatees in unskilled positions) forced the trainees to turn to alcohol and resulted in their subsequent arrest.[61]

CRITICISMS OF THE PROGRAMS

Although in certain respects these manpower programs are highly successful, each of the programs has certain weaknesses which if remedied could increase their overall effectiveness. Since most of the criticisms are specific to a particular program, each program's weaknesses will be discussed separately.

Perhaps the most fundamental criticism of the Indian on-the-job training program is the high proportion of women enrolled in the program while the male and nominal head of the household remains unemployed. This problem has been stated most eloquently in a letter to the editor of the *Gallup Independent* by a Catholic priest, Father Justus Writh, affiliated with St. Anthony Indian Mission on the Zuni Indian Reservation. Father Writh writes:

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[58] Not only is there scant likelihood that these individuals will find employment, but there is a greater probability that they will become unemployed. In 1968, 12.2 percent of those institutional trainees residing on the reservation were unemployed as compared to 4.7 percent of those residing off the reservation.

[59] This does not include partial completions. Partial completions are dropouts who have pursued sufficient training to allow them to accept employment in the field or related field for which they have been trained.

[60] Indians apparently have a very high tendency toward being arrested. For example, police records in Denver indicated that about half of the Navajo migrants are arrested at least once during their stay in the city, with about 95 percent of the arrests alcohol related. For further information, see Theodore R. Graves, "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration," *Human Organization*, Vol. 25 (Winter 1966), p. 298.

[61] Nationally drunkenness alone accounts for 71 percent of all Indian arrests. For further information see Omer Stewart, "Questions Regarding American Indian Criminality," *Human Organization*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1964), p. 61.

"As you know, many new industries are locating on our Indian reservations. . . . [But] the jobs are not going to our Indian men—to the fathers of families who really need the work. Instead the tendency is to give the jobs to women. . . . For our Indian mothers to be forced to take on outside work because there are no jobs available for men or because the jobs that are available are given to women is to fail our Indian people completely. . . . How much of a man would you feel if you wiped the running noses of your children and washed their diapers while the mother of your children went off to work each day so that she might feed you and buy your clothes?"[62]

Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not keep statistics on the breakdown of trainees by sex, some information on this subject was gathered by the author in a trip to some of the larger Indian reservations made during 1968. (See Appendix C.)

According to the data obtained by the author, over two-thirds of the trainees in the nine plants visited were women. When questioned about the high percentage of women, most owners or managers gave unsatisfactory responses, such as, "If we have men and women there will be too much fraternization," or "Men won't do the same work as women," or "This work calls for skills men don't have."

The first statement, echoed by several individuals, indicates a prejudiced feeling that Indians are less able than whites to control their affections for the opposite sex. There is no rational basis for this belief. The second comment appears also to be incorrect. For example, before the recent shutdown of the Wright-McGill Corporation, 200 men and 200 women worked side by side doing the same work. There was no tendency for men to feel insecure or to object to the situation. The third comment, "This work calls for skills men don't have," was made by several of the electronics firms whose employees make intricate parts for computers, transistors, and other electronic equipment. However, the Amizuni Corporation, located on the Zuni Reservation, does essentially the same work as the other electronics firms enumerated in Appendix C, and finds no difficulty in training male electronics workers.

One suspects that the primary motive for hiring a large number of women is strictly economic. It may be possible to pay women less than men for the same work;[63] women may be more difficult to unionize and less insistent on fringe benefits. Since most of these firms locate on the reservation because it is a low wage area, it is not unreasonable to assume that if women are easier to recruit at low wages that these firms would tend to hire women.

Another problem, which is not a fault of the on-the-job training program, per se, but is caused by the existence of the program, is a critical shortage of housing near some of the manufacturing plants. Housing on Indian reservations tends to be scattered and of very low density. When an expanding manufacturing plant locates in a particular area, it creates a great demand for housing near the manufacturing site. For example, the Fairchild Electronics Corporation has recently located a major installation in Shiprock, New Mexico, on the eastern end of the Navajo Reservation. The corporation employed 550 workers in July 1968. Most of the workers were from other sections of the Navajo Reservation. The resultant housing shortage is so critical that low-cost public housing, which was built for Indians living in the Shiprock area who were on welfare, has been given to the Fairchild employees.[64] Because of the critical housing shortage, Fairchild has cut back on expansion plans until the shortage is eased.

A basic criticism of the vocational training program involves enrollment policy. Many of the women entering the program leave the labor force not long after completing training. For example, of those women enrolled in 1963–64, only 46 percent were in the labor force in 1968.[65] This is the reason that, on the average, female relocatees (no training) earned more for three years after relocation than female trainees, that is, less of the former left the labor force. (Earning data include *all* former trainees.) From the point of view of benefit-cost analysis, the ratio of benefit to costs would undoubtedly be greater if fewer single women were enrolled.

In addition, since about one-third of the vocational trainees are not high school graduates and many others likely would not achieve a high school level on standardized tests, it might be helpful to include some basic or remedial education as has been done in the Job Corps or MDTA programs. In this connection, Brazziel found that MDTA trainees given basic education, earned $12 more per week after program completion than those receiving technical training only.[66]

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[62] Father Justus Writh. OFM. "Indian Men Need Jobs," letter to the Editor, *The Gallup Independent*, June 19, 1968, p. 2.

[63] Of course not if they worked side by side, but, for example, 100 employees who were virtually all women would receive a lower wage than 100 employees who were virtually all men.

[64] Inteview with Employment Assistance Officer, Shiprock Agency, July 1968.

[65] About 35 percent of the vocational trainees are single women.

The biggest weakness of the direct relocation (no training) program is that approximately one-half of the relocatees return to the reservation. Since this is the oldest of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Manpower Programs, it is unfortunate that better results have not been achieved. Perhaps this is partly because the Bureau has not maintained any useful statistics concerning this program which could be used in an attempt to understand his problem and formulate policies for reducing the returnee rate.

Moreover, the high unemployment rate of relocatees (see Table 3–4) indicates that it may be difficult for a reservation Indian to adjust to the pace and tempo of life in a major metropolitan area.[67]

IMPACT ON RESERVATION ECONOMY

Although the level of funding and number of participants in Indian manpower programs has increased in recent years, it is important to determine whether the removal of redundant labor from the reservation and the upgrading of a portion of the reservation labor force through the on-the-job training program has had a significant impact on the reservation economy. One method of measuring this impact is to examine the reservation unemployment rate. Table 3–8 compares data on the unemployment rate for reservation Indians and all non-Indians for 1958–1967.

It is obvious that there was a much smaller change in the unemployment rate on the Indian reservations from 1958–1967 when compared to the unemployment rate for non-Indians.

The reason for this lack of impact of these manpower programs on the reservation economy (as measured by changes in the unemployment rate) is clear. These programs, despite their success vis a vis the individual participants, operated on too small a scale to have a significant impact on the reservation economy.[68]

TABLE 3–8.—MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, RESERVATION INDIANS[1] AND ALL NON-INDIANS,[2] 1958–67

[In percent]

Year	Unemployment rate, reservation indians	Unemployment rate, all non-indians
1958	43.5	6.8
1959	48.2	5.3
1960	51.3	5.4
1961	49.5	6.4
1962	43.4	5.2
1965	41.9	4.0
1966	41.9	3.2
1967	37.3	3.1
Percentage change 1958–67	—14.2	—53.4

[1] Males 14 and over.
[2] Males 16 and over.

Source: Data for reservation Indians, 1958–61, from U.S. House of Representatives, 88th Cong. 1st sess., "Indian Unemployment Survey," Pt. I, "Questionnaire Returns," July 1963. Data for reservation Indians, 1962, 1965, and 1966, from Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Selected Data on Indian Reservations Eligible for Designation under Public Works and Economic Development Act," December 1966 and 1967. These data were seasonally adjusted, using the monthly unemployment fluctuations in the Indian unemployment survey as a basis for adjustment. Data for non-Indians from "Manpower Report of the President, 1968," table A–11, p. 234.

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[66] William F. Brazziel, "Effects of General Education in Manpower Programs," *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1966), pp. 38–44.

[67] It is likely that the high rate of returnees is associated with the difficulty of finding and holding a job.

[68] The present level of net migration from the Indian reservations is estimated at 10,000 per year. In addition, there are about 3,000 deaths per year among reservation Indians. However, because of a high birth rate (double the average for non-Indians), there are about 16,000 births on the reservations each year. This implies an increase in population of 0.9 percent per annum.

As the level of education of the reservation Indian continues to increase, a greater number will desire relocation with or without training. Already most manpower programs operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs have backlogs of applicants who cannot be accommodated due to lack of funds.[69] Unless appropriations are increased, these programs will continue to have only a limited impact on the reservation economy.

SUMMARY

On the basis of the various criterion employed, it appears that the Bureau of Indian Affairs Manpower Programs are not only highly successful, but in some cases even more successful than comparable programs enrolling non-Indians. Perhaps one of the most hopeful factors for the long-run development of the participants is the high proportion who undertake further schooling after participating in these programs.

The *principal* difficulty with these programs is not inherent weaknesses (although these do exist), but the fact that these programs are being operated on too small a scale to have a major impact on the reservation economy. It is difficult to understand why programs, which return $10–$20 for every dollar spent, receive such small appropriations in the face of such an urgent need.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR INDIAN AMERICANS

In recent years the Bureau of Indian Affairs has realized that the adult vocational training program was not reaching the non-high school graduate. Since educational requirements for most courses was high school graduation, non-graduates wanting to leave the reservation received no training either before or after relocation. In order to reach this less educated segment of the Indian population, three new programs which combine basic education and pre-vocational or vocational training have been established. The first project was established by the Radio Corporation of America, under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to teach Indians on the Choctaw Reservation, in Mississippi, *pre-vocational* training and basic education. The second project, operated by the Thiokal Chemical Corporation, at Roswell, New Mexico, teaches vocational training and basic education. The third project, operated by the Philco-Ford Corporation at Madera, California, also teaches vocational training and basic education. Each of these projects will be described in turn. However, because of the short time the projects have been in operation evaluation must be tentative and incomplete. It is hoped that future studies of Indian Manpower Programs will be able to evaluate the programs in more detail.

THE RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA PROJECT

The Radio Corporation of America project for the Choctaw Indians of Mississippi is probably the most ambitious of all Indian manpower programs. At present about 75 Indian families, most of whom were formerly sharecroppers earning $300–400 a year, are learning pre-vocational training and basic education. Wives of breadwinners are given training in homemaking, personal hygiene, and child care. The average age of the family heads is 31, and the men and women both have about two years of formal education. Families have, on the average, five or six children.[70]

The participants are being trained to take low-skilled positions in industry after graduation. Instruction in the use of tools, blueprints, and shop procedure is combined with education in communicative skills and mathematics with the goal of bringing reading and mathematics achievement levels up to sixth or seventh grade. Thus far, 14 families have left the project and 12 families have completed the 12–15 months training course and have been relocated mainly in the South and Midwest.

The cost per trainee is $4,600 per year, not including subsistence.[71] This is approximately three times the training cost of the adult vocational program. One of the main factors accounting for the relative high cost of the RCA program is the low ratio of students to teachers of about six to one.[72]

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[69] For example, on virtually all reservations visited this summer, budget limitations prevented anyone from being sent to vocational training centers after January. Thus, from January until the end of the fiscal year (June 30), no one was sent for vocational training. As a result, six to nine month backlogs of potential trainees developed. A similar situation occurred in 1967. Employment assistance officers informed me that a large number of these potential trainees soon lose interest and are no longer available for training when it is possible to send them. About one-third can never be accommodated.

[70] Interview with Mr. Robert Murray, Project Director, March 1968.

[71] Interview with Mr. J. Lasalle, Branch of Employment Assistance, Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 1968.

Since the project has been in operation less than a year with correspondingly few "graduates" it is impossible to make an accurate assessment of the program. One of the biggest problems the participants will face is the barriers to employment and advancement in the urban areas to which they are sent, because of a lack of formal schooling. Studies of Indian participation in manpower programs indicate participants tend to change jobs frequently. While RCA and the Bureau of Indian Affairs may have success in initially placing these individuals, considerable difficulty may be realized by these individuals when they are "on their own." [73] At present many of the graduates are not earning enough to support their families from their salaries (usually $1.60–2.00 per hour), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is supplementing their salaries.

While the benefit-cost ratio will not likely be as great as for other programs,[74] one of the main purposes of the program is to move the Indian from the economic limitations of life as a sharecroppers. The low level of schooling of the participants attests to the oppressiveness under which these Indians and their ancestors have lived for generations.

The training center is surrounded by a large number of trailers which are occupied by the participants and the staff. Reports indicate that the biggest problem is the heavy drinking which participants engage in, especially on weekends. Since Neshoba County is a "dry" country, much of the liquor sold to the Indians comes from "bottleggers" who come to the center to sell their waves. It is difficult to understand why this traffic in illegal liquor cannot be controlled, but judging from recent reports, if it is not controlled soon, the effectiveness of the entire program will be seriously jeopadized.[75]

THE ROSEWELL PROJECT

This program which was established in March, 1968, combines job-related basic education with vocational training for semi-skilled jobs. The educational program is made up of three component areas that include communication arts, mathematics, and personal development. Each is set up to expose all students to the rudiments of job-related skills in computation and mathematical reasoning concepts, paragraph meaning, language arts, vocabulary, verbal communication, social skills, consumer economics, and personal hygiene.[76] Special programs for non-readers and non-speakers of English have been developed. The concept of teaching English as a second language is being utilized. The education is related as closely as possible to the vocational training course selected by the student.

It is obvious that most of the students come to the center with serious academic deficiencies. Table B–1 presents data on the achievement level of entrants on various phases of the Stanford Achievement Test Battery.

The data indicate that the average student achieves 2–3 years below highest grade level completed on language and mathematics subtests.

The vocational training department is composed of four major clusters: (A) Auto-welding (Body and Fender, Small Engine, Auto Repair; Tune-up, and Welding); (B) Food Processing (Cooking, Baking, and Meat-cutting); (C) Electronic Assembly; and (D) Government Serivces (Office-clerical, Typing, Stenographer, Surveying and Drafting, and Nurse's Aide).[77]

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[72] Interview with Mr. Robert Murray, Project Director, March 1968.

[73] Because this is a new program it is not clear how long followup services will be available to graduates.

[74] For example, assume that the average trainee (including dropouts) earns $2,000 the year after completion. This would imply on a lifetime earnings basis, assuming a constant differential between earnings before and after "graduation" a benefit-cost ratio of 5.1 : 1 (5 percent discount rate).

[75] Radio Corporation of America, Quarterly Progress Report (July 1968).

[76] Roswell Employment Training Center, *Quarterly Report* (June 30, 1968; memographed), p. 14.

[77] At first glance it appears that many of the occupations enumerated under "government services" are also a part of the adult vocational curriculum discusses' in Chapter 3 and that the Roswell program is, in this instance, merely duplicating an established program. However, this is not the case. The students entering the government services cluster at Roswell, while they may be high school graduates, are so academically retarded that they need the special educational facilities which are not provided under the regular adult vocational training program.

TABLE B-1.—*Mean achievement level, Stanford achievement test*

Test:	*Mean grade level*
Spelling	5.5
Paragraph meaning	6.9
Language	5.1
Arithmetic computation	5.0
Arithmetic concepts	5.2
Arithmetic applications	5.9
Years of school completed	8.4

Source: Roswell Employment Training Center, *Quarterly Report* (June 30, 1969 mimeographed), p. 38.

The training and administrative costs of this program are about $5,600 a year, not including subsistence for the trainee and his family. It appears that most trainees will remain at the center for about a year.

Since there have been no graduates of this training program, and will not be until early 1969, it is impossible to apply any of the evaluation criteria which were employed when considering other programs. However, student evaluation reports (on every student enrolled at the center) point up certain problems which will have a profound impact on the benefit-cost ratio and other evaluative criteria of this program.

On June 30, 1968, each student was evaluated in terms of percent of job readiness and general adjustment to training-center life. Numerical grades were given in each academic and vocational course taken by the trainee. These reports are brutally frank. They indicate that 27 percent of the trainees have serious drinking problems which have resulted in a great deal of fighting and other disturbances at the training center. Trainees with drinking problems make slower progress than those without such a problem. For example, the typical trainee with a drinking problem was rated on June 30, 1968 at 23 percent of job readiness; the typical non-drinker at 36 percent of job readiness. Since both groups entered the center at the same time it appears that drinking is retarding the progress of many trainees.[78] It is likely that the drinkers will take 2–3 months longer to complete training, if they do complete training, resulting in higher training costs than for non-drinkers.[79]

Given the fact that these problem driinkers will likely be difficult to place, or, if placed, may soon leave their initial employment, it is likely that the rate of return to training for this group will be low. In addition to the drinking problem, other trainees seem unlikely to profit by the training. The student evaluation reports indicate many instances of refusal to attend classes, psychiatric problems, trainees disappearing for a week or more, than reappearing, and a general lack of interest by some trainees in the program. In spite of all the infractions of training center rules, only five trainees have been dismissed.

Since there is already a backlog of applicants awaiting training, it is difficult to understand why a great many more individuals have not been separated from the program. It seems more sensible, given a limited budget, to allocate resources for as great a number of individuals as possible who clearly have the potential for training, than to concentrate resources on a limited number of people with problems that can better be handled elsewhere.[80]

However, the greatest fault may not lie with the center staff but with the local employment assistance office. Since there are more applicants than openings at the training center, it would seem that an effective screening operation would eliminate many potential troublemakers. There is no excuse for sending chronic alcoholics, individuals with severe mental or physical problems, and uninterested individuals for training when there are *more* individuals without those problems desiring admission to the program than there are places.[81]

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[78] One could argue that drinking was a consequence of slow progress and not a cause of it, but a detailed review of the student evaluation reports indicates that this drinking is associated with other factors such as social adjusment problems or chronic alcoholism.

[79] Moreover, problem drinkers receive a great deal of extra attention from staff counselors, which also increases the cost of their training.

[80] For example, it may be better in the long run if some of the problem drinkers were sent to an institution for the rehabilitation of alcoholics.

[81] The Chief of the Crow Indians, Edison Real Bird, indicated to the author that the local employment assistance officer seemed to have no idea of the background of many of the applicants for employment assistance. Real Bird felt that had there been any communication between the tribe and the employment assistance officer, scarce funds wouldn't have been wasted on individuals with virtually no chance of profiting from the various programs.

THE MADERA PROJECT

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recently awarded a contract to the Educational and Technical Service Division of the Philco-Ford Corporation. The company has established a training center in Madera, California. The training center offers a graded vocational training program which allows for varying entry levels based on trainee aptitudes and education, as well as various exit levels ranging from a minimum employable skill to semi-skilled employment. The training center offers educational opportunities for all members of the family, including basic education for the spouse and all eligible wage earners, public school training for school age children, and day care programs for pre-school youngsters.

The courses provided are broken down into the following occupational areas:

1. Clerical occupations.
2. Automotive/small engine repair.
3. Electronics assembly.
4. Appliance/radio-TV maintenance.
5. Drafting.
6. Supplementary occupations.

As in the case of the Roswell Program, basic education is provided and is related as closely as possible to vocational training. The educational achievement level of the trainees is similar to that of the trainees associated with the Roswell training program. This is illustrated in Table B–2.

TABLE B–2.—*Mean achievement, wide range achievement test*

Test:	*Mean grade level*
Arithmetic	5.1
Spelling	6.6
Reading	6.5
Composite	5.4
Formal schooling	8.7

Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Followup Survey of Madera Employment Center Trainees," mimeographed, August 1968.

The data indicate that Madera trainees, like their Roswell counterparts, are two to three years behind grade level on the various achievement subtests.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recently completed a statistical followup survey of 276 former Madera participants. Because the typical trainee surveyed had only been separated from the program for about six months, any conclusions drawn from the analysis presented below must be regarded as tentative.

INTERNAL RATE OF RETURN AND BENEFIT-COST ANALYSIS

As in the case of other manpower programs, data are available on earnings before and after program participation. However, while income data for the programs described earlier included earnings for three years before and after program participation, data for the Madera trainees refer to the year prior to training and earnings for the past six months are projected to give information on earnings for the year after training.[82] Table B–3 indicates the internal rate of return and present-value cost ratios of the program on the assumption that the differential in earnings before and after program participation is constant.

The internal rate of return is about three-fifths of the return calculated for the older adult vocational training program (see Chapter 4). This is because the increment in earnings after training at Madera is lower and the costs (training and administration plus foregone earnings) are higher as compared to the adult vocational training program.

LABOR FORCE STATUS

Because the Madera program is trying to reach less educated families and individuals who are in greatest need of help, one would expect that the unemployment rate of the participants prior to training would be very high. This is borne out of Table B–4, which indicates the labor force status of 276 participants before and after training.

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[82] It is hoped that future surveys will attempt to obtain a more detailed earnings history.

The data in Table B–4 do not present a particular encouraging picture. Only 52 percent of the graduates or partial completions are presently employed. Perhaps six months is not enough time for the typical trainee to find a job to his liking so that some of the unemployment is fictional (associated with job changing). However, the low level of labor force participation reflects labor force withdrawal of married women.

TABLE B–3.—*Internal rates of return, present value-cost ratios, Madera training and education program*[1]

Internal rate of return	33
Benefit-cost ratio at 5-percent-discount rate	6. 1 :1
Benefit-cost ratio at 10-percent-discount rate	3. 4 :1

[1] Rates of return based on the following data, average income for year prior to training $1,280. Projected income for 1 year after training $2,350 (includes 0 income for unemployed and non-labor force participants). Average training and administrative cost per trainee $2,820. Forgone earnings for 6.73 months of training $675. Data computed from survey material included in Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Survey of Madera Employment Center Graduates" (mimeographed) August 1968.

TABLE B-4.—LABOR FORCE STATUS BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING

Labor force status	1967	1968
Employed	30	52
Unemployed	53	24
Not in labor force	17	24

Source: Computed from data contained in U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Survey of Madera Employment Center Graduates" (mimeographed), August 1968.

Of those trainees that returned to the reservation 62 percent are unemployed.[83] It appears that participants in this program have a much greater tendency to return to the reservation than participants in other programs as nearly half have returned within six months of leaving the center.[84]

EMPLOYMENT RELATED TO TRAINING

The followup survey indicates that of those employed six months after departing from Madera 52 percent are in positions related to training. This is lower than the 59 percent of 1963 participants in the standard adult vocational training program who in 1968 were in employment related to training. *Thus five years* after training there were proportionally more AVT participants in employment related to training than was the case for Madera participants *six months* after training.

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[83] Computed from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Survey of Madera Employment Training Center Graduates* (mimeographed), August 1968.

[84] This may be due to the participants' limited formal schooling. Studies cited in Chapter 3 indicate that relocatees (no training) have a greater tendency to return home the lower their level of formal schooling.

Pre-Publication Draft

WHO SHOULD CONTROL INDIAN EDUCATION?

- A History
- Two Case Studies
- Recommendations

A Report Funded by the Carnegie Corporation and Prepared by

Francis McKinley, Stephen Bayne, and Glen Nimnicht

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The County Superintendent of Schools of the
  County of Monterey
The Board of Education of the San Francisco
  Unified School District
The Regents of the University of Nevada
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INTRODUCTION

In October 1967, the National Indian Youth Council contracted with the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development to study the education of Indian children at ten sites. Following this, the conclusions reached from our study were to be tested by a careful review of the literature, and finally, questionnaires and interviews were to be used at other sites to test the generality of the conclusions reached at the ten sites studied in depth. This survey study, which was to be conducted in cooperation with two other Regional Laboratories, was primarily intended to be the first phase of a larger research and development effort in Indian education. The results of the survey study were to be used in the development of eight to ten model-demonstration schools that would show what might be accomplished when the Indian people have a major voice in setting educational policy for the schools their children are attending. Among other things, it was expected that the curriculum of these ten model schools would be modified to reflect local Indian history, culture, and values, and that noteworthy educational innovations would be introduced to raise the educational achievement level of the Indian students.

This initial survey study, conducted under contract with the National Indian Youth Council, was financed by the Carnegie Corporation and has now been in progress for one year. The following report, documenting our findings during that period, is intended to describe the state of education for American Indian children, and to provide a set of recommendations for initial steps to be taken in improving Indian education.

The Indian Education Survey Project has concentrated on two major kinds of activities during the first year of its existence. These are:

1. Collection of base line data from the ten project sites. This has included information on school administration, curriculum and teaching methods, student achievement at various grade levels, the attitudes of teachers and administrators, and the unique characteristics of various kinds of schools attended by the Indian children. We have as yet been unable to collect data about the attitudes of parents toward education and their reactions to proposed innovations, primarily because the procedures of interviewing and questionnaire administration were found to be inadequate for use with the Indian population. The parents simply did not have the experience necessary to the formation of opinion on the subject of education and educational innovation, and additionally in many cases felt that education should be left to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was not a subject on which they should form opinions.

2. Development of pilot projects, the results of which could be analyzed in terms of the likelihood that a given community might eventually gain responsibility for the education of its children. At three of the sites we have developed educational materials libraries ("toy libraries") at Head Start Schools. Educational toys selected by teachers and aides are checked out from the school by the parents and kept at home as long as they are needed and useful. The parents are asked to spend time with their children explaining the use of the materials, answering questions, and making observations. The parents are also encouraged to involve other children in the family, and to make suggestions about the possible use of native toys or materials for the library.

   The libraries have been in operation for only six months and data available about their effectiveness are presently inadequate. We have also developed through our field consultants at the White Eagle School in Ponca City, Oklahoma, a tutoring program for junior high school students, and assisted in the development of a non-profit organization for community development.

Because the full study is not completed at this time our conclusions must be tentative. We believe, however, that the data finally available will support the following conclusions:

1. The crucial problem in the education of Indian children is the general relationship between white society and the Indian people. This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local government.

2. The education provided Indian children is a failure when measured by any reasonable set of criteria. The educational system has not succeeded in providing the majority of Indian children with the minimum level of competence necessary to prepare them to be productive citizens in a larger society. Additionally, very little attempt has been made to perpetuate the values and culture that might be unique to the Indian people and provide them with a sense of pride in their own heritage, or confidence that they can effectively control their own future development. It should be noted that the fault for these inadequacies in education does not lie entirely within the schools; the whole system of relationships between the white majority community and the Indians is the source of the problem. While the schools, both public and Bureau of Indian Affairs supported, are in great need of improvement in curriculum,

methods, teacher training, teacher turnover, and in the teacher's understanding of the unique problems of the students and their parents, any increase in money, time and effort spent on Indian education can only relieve some of the more important symptoms of the underlying problem. These efforts will be relatively ineffective unless the basic relationships between Indians and white people can also be altered, and, specifically, unless the paternalistic relationship between the white power structure and Indian communities is changed.

PROLOGUE

This report must begin with a clarification of the term "Indian Education". As a body of pedagogical principles, philosophy, or techniques, it does not exist. Rather, we may define Indian education as the imposition of white American educational institutions upon American Indian communities. Thus there is no tradition of formal education which we can call "Indian". There are certainly ancient traditions of informal education in American Indian cultures, but these have never had any relationship to the schools now operating in American Indian communities, and the Indian people themselves have always, and still do, refer to the schools as "White man's schools".

However, there are two basic reasons for the existence of "Indian Education" as a subject apart from education in general. First, the history of education for Indians has been separate from that for other Americans in that most Indians until quite recently attended school in a system of boarding and day schools operated by the Federal government, as represented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus Indian Education has been almost synonymous with B.I.A. education, separated from normal educational concerns for non-Indians both physically and in philosophy. Secondly, by any measure available, American Indian children are not as successful as non-Indian children in adapting to the classroom culture of the American school, and in meeting those criteria of educational achievement set by the school. Indian children score lower on most standardized tests, read and write English less proficiently, drop out of school in larger numbers earlier, attend school less frequently, and behave in the classroom less satisfactorily than non-Indian children. Therefore the special concern over "Indian education".

This special concern has stimulated the promulgation of a body of research going back to the 1930's when the Meriam Report brought the inadequacies, archaisms, and cruelties of the existing B.I.A. educational institutions to public notice. Books, monographs, and articles were written and are being written now on language problems, analysis of standardized test performances, psychological differences between Indian and white children, the effects of acculturation, and conflicts between the culture of the child's home and that of the school.

The research, however, has focused on a very small number of reservations. This has been a long standing fault in Indian studies, especially in relation to the Navajo, who were described in the 40's as living in extended families consisting of three matrilineal generations plus one anthropologist, and the Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where there are currently 64 field studies in progress. The reasons for this unbalanced research are primarily demographic and historical. The Navajo tribe is by far the largest in the United States, and has kept its culture intact in far more obvious ways than most other tribal groups, thus offering a large, and attractive field for anthropological research. The Sioux on Pine Ridge have had a romantic and tragic history which has caught the imagination of researchers and the American public alike, to whom the names of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse are synonymous with "Indians". For these tribes there is baseline data in profusion to work with, but for the Ponca, the Crow, and the Mescalero Apaches - tribes with education problems of critical current importance - the literature is sparse indeed. Thus the amount of material included on Navajo and Pine Ridge reflects the interests of researchers rather than the primacy of their education and acculturation problems.

The results of this research comprise a body of data which includes a plethora of varied and often conflicting suggestions by educators, psychologists, and anthropologists as to how the deplorable state of Indian education can be improved, and theories about what Indian education should ideally be like.

Significantly, very few have bothered to ask Indians themselves what they feel Indian education should be like. This seems especially lacking now in light of the growing interest in community control of education by communities of the urban and rural poor, and by communities of ethnic and racial minority groups in this country. How can American Indian communities be encouraged to take significant responsibility for the functioning of schools when the opinions of Indians on formal education are essentially unknown, almost impossible to discover, and perhaps, except for vast generalities, nonexistent? Are the opinions of Indians about the schools limited to deep antipathy, passive acceptance, or considerations of the relation between the school and practical job skills? And if Indians have no particular interest in the schools, what are the reasons for the lack of interest, and how can the situation be remedied so that Indian parents can have as much influence and control over the schools as the parents of white children.

To begin answering these questions we will start with the historical background to Indian education and review the data provided by existing literature and our own research, and then present what we feel to be the most promising ways of dealing with these questions and of stimulating interest and responsibility for education by the American Indian community.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE UNITED STATES - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There are now approximately 700,000 American Indians in the continental United States, and 30,000 Eskimos and Aleuts in the State of Alaska. In 1967, 440,000 of these Indian and Alaskan natives were receiving services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Federal bureau which holds 38.9 million acres of land in 390 reservations, colonies, rancherias and communities in trust for tribal groups of native Americans. Many of these people are living in poverty. The median income for Indian families on reservations is only $1500, unemployment rates often exceed 50%, and 90% of reservation housing is substandard by federal government standards.

By any criteria, then, Indians are poor. They are not, however, "culturally deprived." Their poverty is a material poverty, and their children do not suffer the deep psychological deprivations associated with the broken families of the urban poor. "The poverty of Indians stems from two factors: It is on the one hand a result of living in a generally impoverished area, and it is on the other hand a result of the particular relationship of Indian society to white society . . ."[81] Understanding of current work and problems in formal education for American Indian children necessarily presupposes some understanding of this particular relationship.

Before the advent of the reservation system, Indian societies, though differing in culture tremendously, were similar in that all were based on face-to-face, kinship oriented communities. In communities of this sort, relationships between people over time, and in everyday activity, are of primary importance, to the extent that the community is defined as a group of kin. "A Sioux is a kinsman, by definition. Kin relations regulate Sioux society and permeate all tasks and activities. In aboriginal times, institutional forms were built upon the kinship system so that even in institutional contexts kinsmen dealt as kinsmen with other kinsmen".[74] Albert Warhaftig describes this "tribal" society as " . . . like an enormous family. They are united by actual kinship, by co-residence and constant person-to-person interaction, by common understanding of their uniqueness as a single people, and by a firm desire to survive, unmolested insofar as possible, as a people."[81]

The reservation system, inaugurated in the 1860's was, among other things, a systematic effort to remake these societies into white American communities, with white American subsistence activities, institutions, and social structure. Gordon MacGregor has ably described the development of this process on the Sioux Reservation at Pine Ridge. By a treaty signed in 1868, the Sioux were initally settled on a huge reservation, which was later broken up into five separate agencies, one of which was Pine Ridge. Following military defeat of the Sioux after the Sioux War of 1875-76, and during the time when the last buffalo, the very source of life for the Plains Indians, were disappearing, the reservation was turned over from the military to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "The civilian superintendent appointed to take charge of the Pine Ridge Agency in 1879 immediately began a program of preparing the bands under his charge for the settled ways of white farmers. His suppression of the Sun Dance (the most important religious event on the Plains) was only one step . . . breakup of family life and the family groups of tepees, the undermining of the authority of the chiefs, and the placement of children in boarding school followed in quick sucession."[50] "The agent had two particular powers by which he kept the Indians under his control: the ration of beef and a police company of fifty Indians. Thus, when the Indians seemed to cling too tenaciously to camping by band groups, holding council by themselves, or being unco-operative, he withheld rations or utilized the police to force a change."[50] "The undermining of native controls and native leadership was followed later by official regulations which forbade native dances, ceremonies, and customs which were believed to impede the acceptance of white life. These regulations were in force until 1934."[50]

The philosophy behind these actions was succinctly stated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1879. "Indians are essentially conservative, and cling tenaciously to old customs and hate all changes: therefore the government should force them to scatter out on farms, break up their tribal organization, dances, ceremonies, and tom-foolery; take from them their hundreds of useless ponies, which afford them the means of indulging in their wandering, nomadic habits, and give them cattle in exchange, and compel them to labor or to accept the alternative of starvation."[79]

Thus developed what Robert K. Thomas has called "the most complete colonial system in the world."[74] The agency " . . . promoted livestock enterprises, supervised the allotment, inheritance, and leasing of land, issued rations and relief, managed the individual Indian's financial facilities, took over the administration of internal political affairs, dispensed justice, and assumed jurisdiction of law and order problems."[16] Social, political, and economic structures were put into the hands of a bureaucracy from a radically different type of culture, leaving the Indian communities no way to function.

On one level the aboriginal social structure and institutions decayed - they could no longer deal with the important affairs of community life; but on another level, that of everyday interpersonal life, they still exist, today. "Nearly all their former institutions on the local level have disappeared. The small Sioux community is hardly even a community in the strict sense of the word. It is a kin group without the aboriginal institutions which once related them to their environment, and no substitute institutions have developed in their place. New institutions have been preempted by outsiders. The old Chief's Council is non-functional. The warriors societies have long since disappeared and the local police force is seen as a foreign and illegitimate coercive force. Thus, few (practically no) means of social control are left to the local Sioux community. There are no local school boards - the schools are run by the federal government. Their churches are run by an outside religious hierarchy. Economic institutions are virtually non-existant."[50]

Yet the everyday kinship network remains. Murray Wax in "Enemies of the People" writes "The reservation always has been, and still is divided into people who call each other Fullbloods or Mixedbloods. Most of the Fullbloods live out on the reservation in small local communities which are predominantly composed of kin. Each of these small communities maintains an internal organization and economy of extraordinary efficiency."[83] In northeastern Oklahoma, we find that Cherokee and white society ". . . are clearly co-territorial, and white and Indian social communities overlap spatially (there is no reservation). This does not mean that whites and Indians are participants in common communities. In those intimate matters through which a human community defines itself (friendships and informal visiting, consoling the sick and helping the disaster-stricken, the informal maintenance of proper behavior, religious and ceremonial activities, pondering the future) Indian communities and white communities are totally separate. Each Indian settlement is in many ways like one large family."[26]

Even in the metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, Oakland, and Chicago, the Indian population retains its identity through a social network clearly separated from the surrounding white city culture. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, attempting to move Indian people from the Los Angeles slums, was balked by families refusing to move for fear of losing contact with friends and relatives in the slum area.[52] The San Francisco Bay Indian community, primarily in Oakland, is described as marked by an observable "self-conscious Indian-ness."[1] The Oakland Indians choose to associate almost exclusively with each other, and do not seek contact with whites. Relatives and tribesmen see each other frequently and are free in extending mutual help. Households are flexible, and no matter how small the space, needy tribesmen are taken in and given food and money. They consider themselves ". . . in a unique Indian social niche which is alien to the community social hierarchy."[1]

Thus in the metropolis, as on the reservation, a basis exists for viable American Indian communities to develop responsibility for their own affairs. In other words, a foundation is present, in the still functioning Indian social networks, for an end to the colonial relationship between Indians and white America. The results of current research indicate that formal education for American Indian children is especially likely to benefit from such a change from external bureaucratic to community control. It is this research which we shall now review.

The History of Federal Indian Education

An account of the results of research on formal American Indian education today should begin with a brief account of what education for American Indians was like in the past. There are two main reasons for this. First, changes in educational policies and practices have been so rapid and contemporary that many parents of today's children were strongly affected by a type of education radically different from the type their children are experiencing. Secondly, many of today's teachers and administrators began teaching Indians during a time when educational philosophy was radically different, and are still teaching according to the old precepts.

Until very recently, most children on Indian reservations received their formal education in Federal boarding and day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Before 1929, Bureau education in the boarding schools was characterized by harsh discipline, military drill, cast-off army clothing, self-support from farm and herd, rustic vocational training, and purposeful separation from home and family. "Children were virtually kidnapped to force them into government schools. Life in the school was under military discipline, and rules were enforced by corporal punishment. Children were forbidden to speak their own language. Those who persisted in clinging to their old ways and those who ran away and were recaptured were thrown into jail. Parents who objected were also jailed. Where possible, children were kept in school year after year to avoid the influence of their families."[50]

In 1928, responding to public furor, the Senate initiated a series of investigations leading to the publication of the *Meriam Report* of 1929. The report envisioned education for Indian children as a total phenomenon, involving the Indian community, the white community, and the family as well as the individual child. Basic philosophy changed. In 1910 the Bureau had written "The task is to provide the needed development and supply the lacks caused by a *faulty environment*, so that the Indian child may be brought up to that standard of cleanliness, order, regularity and discipline which the public school presupposes in its white children. The task is *changing a way of living*."[79] In contrast, the Meriam Report stated "Education must provide for promotion of health, advancement of productive efficiency, the acquisition of reasonable ability in the utilization of income and property, guarding against exploitation, and the maintenance of reasonably high standards of community life." Along with the advocacy of specific reforms, such as the prohibition of jails and severe punishment in the boarding schools, went the idea that "practical and vocational" courses would be more important to the Indian child than academic courses, since it was expected that most Indians would continue to work on the primarily rural reservations, and could best become "Americans" by " . . . absorption into the industrial and agricultural life of the nation."[79]

The reforms initiated by the Meriam Report were completed and greatly extended by John Collier's administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945. The boarding schools were de-emphasized and closed wherever possible, to be replaced by day schools close to the children's home, enabling them to be benefitted by white education while still participating in their own culture. The educational aims of the schools were to reflect Collier's tremendous respect for the ancient cultures of the Indian people: "There will be no interference with Indian religious life," "The cultural history of Indians is to be considered in all respects equal to that of any non-Indian group" and "It is desirable that Indians be bilingual - fluent and literate in the English language, and fluent in their vital, beautiful, and efficient native languages. The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored."[79]

Collier's most important educational views did not prevail after his administration. His radical program met consistent Congressional criticism culminating in a 1944 report which demanded " . . . that the emphasis in Indian schools be upon developing better "Indian Americans" rather than the existing emphasis upon perpetuating the Indian as a special status individual and that the emphasis on day schools give way to a program promoting attendance at off-reservation boarding schools."[79]

The next major change in Indian education occurred following World War II, when Federal funds began to be provided for the construction and operation of public schools in reservation areas. The result was " . . . a rapid exit of day schools from the federal system to various public school districts".[57] In accordance with this trend, it has been the philosophy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs since the '50's that "the education of Indian children is primarily a responsibility of the states, but that under special circumstances (eg., isolation, language difficulties, or family disorganization) the B.I.A. will conduct its own educational programs. To do this, it is now operating what is in all probability the largest boarding school system in the world, with facilities for 40,000 students in operation or under construction, and facilities for an additional 20,000 day students. Nevertheless, the B.I.A.'s stated goal has always been a public school education for every Indian child."[57] On a national level, 32.6% of American Indian children attend Bureau schools. However, the variation from reservation to reservation is tremendous, with a range extending fully from 0% to 100%.

Whether the reservation school is B.I.A. or public, it has distinct characteristics which make it an "Indian" school. In fact, we have found the differences between public and B.I.A. schools to be so insignificant that the current heated debate over the preferability of public to B.I.A. schools seems quite unnecessary. The following description of such schools is based upon our analysis of public and B.I.A. schools on six reservations.

The schools are located in remote and poor areas, and in some of the districts students ride the buses for 3 hours every day. Some of the schools provide recreational services for the community such as movies, intramural athletics, and scouting programs, while others provide bathing facilities for the students. Because of the poverty of the areas in which they are located, most of the schools must depend on outside resources, both State and Federal, to support their school budgets. As a result, the administrators perenially complain of inadequate funds. At one school we visited, the entire budget was allocated to plant operation, salaries, school lunches, and transportation, leaving officially no money for textbooks, experimental programs, or new classroom equipment.

In some cases, these financial difficulties have forced administrators to think almost exclusively in terms of physical facilities. At one school, for example, the principal put equal emphasis on the schools's four services - instruction, transportation, nutrition, and sanitation, and could not see any significant change in school policy toward community control or curriculum experimentation until the physical plant had been renovated. At another school the superintendent actually spends school time helping build new classrooms because money is not available to hire labor. Yet most of the schools are in fairly good physical condition, and the facilities themselves do not seem to justify the degree to which administrators are preoccupied with physical problems.

The lack of efficient communication and private transportation at the reservation sites encourages rigid schedules. Although it may be hard for students to meet the school bus every morning at the same time, both because of substandard home facilities and because their families are not oriented toward time schedules, the circumstances require an inflexible arrangement. The school bus must arrive as expected if the children are required to leave their homes and wait for it at the road. The school cannot afford to run more buses, and the parents cannot afford to get their children to school any other way. This problem is probably one factor in the poor attendance record of many Indian children, who are either unable or unwilling to meet an inflexible bus schedule.

At all of the schools, the dropout rate is unusually high. Using one non-reservation public school as an example, only three out of fifteen children who started first grade in 1956 graduated this year (1968). The previous year only four children graduated out of an initial class of sixteen. Four were still in school, behind their grade, and the rest had dropped out. These dropout rates of 80% and 50% are by no means unusual over the nation. Most surveys have estimated the national dropout rate for Indian school children in all types of schools to be 60%.

Teacher turnover is also very high at most of the schools, especially those in remote areas, where the turnover rate may rise as high as 70% annually, and in one case has been 90% for the past two years.

The teachers have a number of characteristics in common, one of which is that they are either quite young or quite old, with very few in the age range between 30 and 45. Most received their education in small teachers colleges in the state in which the school is located, even though the B.I.A. schools theoretically draw teachers from anywhere in the United States. The majority have at most a bachelors degree. Among the teachers in our sample the percentage of graduate degrees rose above the usual 15% only at the large off-reservation boarding school at Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Curriculum and textbooks are without exception not adapted in any way to American Indian students. Neither the B.I.A. schools nor the public schools diverge from the usual fare of Scott-Foresman readers and standard social studies texts found in schools for white children all over the country.

The American Indian Child

Though it is obviously a truism to state that American Indian children are not white children, it is a truism which cannot be repeated too often, as the complexities and ramifications of the statement are not often understood by educators and administrators on the reservations. American Indian children, especially those in isolated, rural areas, are brought up very differently from white children, and thus develop a significantly different type of personality. A substantial amount of research has been done since World War II on the formulation of patterns of child development and personality in Indian children, with quite consistent results.

Child-rearing in American Indian cultures, when compared with white American practices, seems extremely permissive and non-punitive. In 1946 MacGregor wrote of the Sioux "The methods of teaching small children proper behavior are based on encouraging the child to do what is desired by kindness and patience and by example rather than by a long series of "don'ts". Warnings and shaming the child are started early by criticizing him for not doing what is proper and approved."[50] Laura Thompson writes that "Hopi children are treated with great indulgence when very young. They are nursed whenever they cry, and allowed an extended period for toilet training."[76] In 1967, Mildred Dickeman wrote "Cherokees often say they are 'strict' with their children, which is true in their own terms. But the white who takes this statement at face value in the semantics of his own behavior will grievously misunderstand.

Cherokees rarely engage in physical discipline. Their means of disciplining are the soft voice, withdrawal, and staring. They engage in more explanation and less dogmatic assertion."[26]

Havighurst and Neugarten, in their classic study American Indian and White Children documented some of the results of this type of upbringing on the personality of Southwest Indian children. "Southwest Indian children exhibit far less conscience or superego function than do Midwest white children--rather they have a self-consciousness or sense of shame or public disapproval."[36] For the Southwest Indian child "morality lies in interpersonal relations and in the group good. The group, rather than the individual, is categorically valued. Goodness and badness for the child lie primarily in how he relates himself to other people.[36]

Many authors have attempted to formulate a general American Indian personality, including the personality of the child, and have come up with various lists of traits, each list differing from the next. However, certain traits turn up in every list, including orientation toward the present rather than toward the future; fear and distrust of unknown situations and people; great generosity; a strong feeling of individual autonomy,(not allowing coercion or intrusion into personal matters); and a feeling for harmony and cooperation rather than for competition. It must be remembered, however, that these are merely generalities, and that personalities differ widely between various Indian cultures, as well as between individual human beings. We need only compare Rosalie Wax's description of Sioux--"Sioux boys are reared to be physically reckless and impetuous. If they are not capable of an occasional act of derring-do, their folks may accept them as 'quiet' or 'bashful', but they are not the ideal type of son, brother, or sweetheart.",[88] with Laura Thompson's description of Hopi children as " . . . cooperative, peaceful, and unaggressive . . . unusually balanced with fine adjustment between the expression and control of psychic forces"[76] to appreciate the necessity for understanding exactly who the children in any American Indian group are, rather than treating them as merely culturally deprived whites or as representatives of some generalized 'Indian' personality type.

To add to the complexity, an Indian child today is not the product solely of his own culture's methods of child rearing. The culture of white America impinges on his life more strongly now than ever before, affecting him at the deepest levels of personality. George and Louise Spindler, in 1955, after studying acculturation among Menomini Indians, tried to generalize about the personality type emerging in rapidly changing American Indian cultures. Their research indicates that most traditional Indians possess a high degree of rational control over overt emotional responsiveness. With acculturation heightening the tendency for responses based on ego needs, much of the emotional control charactertistic of the group-oriented culture is lost, and erratic emotional responses appear frequently, particularly outbursts of undirected aggression.[71] Boggs, on the other hand, found that the "introverted, passive personality"[12] of the Ojibwa was exaggerated even more during acculturation.

The stark fact of poverty on the reservations seems to be affecting the traditional lack of concern for material things which has often been mentioned as an important part of Indian personality in many tribes (with a major exception being the tribes of the Northwest Coast). Havighurst found that Southwest Indian children were more concerned than their Midwest white counterparts with "the securing of property, food, clothing, and other possessions as sources of pleasant emotion and the loss or damage of these things as sources of unpleasant emotions."[36] Elizabeth Hoyt collected essays from 255 Indian children about their future plans, and found they mentioned the desire for a good job above anything else.[39] Hildegard Thompson's studies show that Indian adolescents are twice as concerned as the national average over learning what jobs are available and how to get them.[75] Several studies (Bernardoni,[11] Artichoker[8]) show that Indian children are particularly and deeply disturbed by the conflict between their desire to find a good job and their desire to stay on the reservation, where jobs are scarce and sometimes nonexistent.

What happens when these children, brought up under the influence of a different culture, and exposed to the frustrations of poverty as well as the bewilderment of rapid change, attend the whiteman's school?

The Indian Child in School--Test Results

The use of standardized tests to measure the intellectual potential and academic achievement of children in the white majority culture has been questioned and criticized by professionals and laymen alike, who doubt that the tests really measure the broad categories of "intelligence", "mental maturity", and "academic aptitude" which the tests purport to measure. When we add to this debate the confusion involved in the testing of children brought up, to varying degrees in a culture very different from that of the test designers, one can doubt whether standardized tests measure anything at all other than the degree to which the intellectual apparatus of the child approaches in its nature that of the white child given the same test.

We have, then, one measure of intellectual acculturation. The testing data we have seen to date merely substantiate this point by demonstrating that high test results correlate with various other measures of acculturation. Thus Peterson, in 1948 found that "median scores on arithmetic, reading, and language tests show that Indian children attending public schools with white children do better than the Indian children in the other schools."[60] Knute Lee's South Dakota study of scores on the California Achievement Test, in 1953, replicated this result, with the finding that Indian students from predominantly white schools scored slightly higher than Indians from predominantly Indian schools.[47] Also in 1953, Kenneth E. Anderson administered twelve achievement tests to several thousand Indian children with the resulting discovery that the more acculturated Indians (measured by degree of white blood, and the ability to speak English on entering school) scored higher than less acculturated Indians, and that Indian pupils living off the reservation scored higher than those living on the reservation.[6] In 1958, L. Madison Coombs administered the California Achievement Test to 24,000 Indian and white children, and found that white children scored significantly higher than Indian children in all types of schools.[24] David Lloyd, in 1961, gave the California Tests of Mental Maturity and the California Achievement Tests to Indian and non-Indian children in integrated public schools in Mesa, Arizona. His findings were that "Indians were achieving at a somewhat lower level than the non-Indians in all subjects and at all grade levels", and that Indians who had spent their whole educational life in the Mesa public schools tended to have a higher mean I.Q. than those resident only a short time.[49] Finally, a 1965 study by Barbara Lindsay found that white children, matched in I.Q. with a group of Bannock Indian children, did significantly better on the California Achievement Tests, and that mixed blood Indians scored higher than full blood Indians.[48]

The results of these testing programs are tediously consistent. Indians who are measured to be acculturated in some ways (mixed blood, English language use, years in an integrated school, residence off the reservation) are found to be acculturated by yet another measure - higher score than their less acculturated brothers on standardized achievement tests. Thus the tautology - "Acculturated Indians are acculturated". The results can also be interpreted to mean that Indian children do not meet certain arbitrary testing standards of white schools as well as white pupils do when these standards are defined by the white educational establishment, without reference to cultural differences of the children being tested.

In an attempt to make standardized testing cross-cultural, and thus not biased toward white students and highly acculturated Indian students, some investigators have used basically non-verbal tests to measure the intelligence of Indian children. In 1944 Havighurst administered the non-verbal Grace Arthur Performance Scale to 800 Indian children and a control group of Midwest white children. His findings were that "American Indian children from several different tribes do as well as white children on a performance test of intelligence" and that evidence on the relation between test performance and acculturation was inconclusive.[38] Two years later Havighurst administered the Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test to 325 Indian children and a Midwest white control group. This time he found that Indian children did better than white children, with mean I.Q. ranges from 106.9 to 113.3 for various tribal groups, compared with 101.2 for the Midwest control group.[37] Thus, results on non-verbal, and therefore less ethnocentric, standardized tests indicate that Indian children are at least as "intelligent" (if that is indeed what the tests measure) as white children from similar rural backgrounds.

Finally mention should be made of Y. T. Witherspoon's 1962 study of Ute Indian children in public schools. Finding that Ute children's scores on standardized achievement tests were often "no higher than chance", he developed an experimental battery of tests aimed at minimizing the particular problems Indian children seemed to have with standardized tests. Given to all students, Indian and non-Indian, in a high school, junior high school, and three elementary schools, the test battery results showed that "Indian children achieved at a lower level than their non-Indian peers" and "The gap between Indian and non-Indian achievement becomes greater as the groups move through the public schools."[90] The latter result is seconded by an earlier study by Ralph Branchard[14] and a later study by Stephen Bayne,[9] both of which show a gradually widening gap in school performance, especially after the fourth grade. When one also considers that the dropout rate on many reservations is as high as 60%, it seems that there may be factors within the school situation as well as factors in the Indian child's cultural background which must be investigated in order to understand why the Indian child does not meet the expectations of educators for classroom performance and academic achievement.

The Indian Child in School--The Classroom

A recent study of education on the Navajo Reservation elucidates some of the difficulties Indian children face in the classroom. Interviewing over seventy teachers on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, Stephen Bayne recorded consistent mention of " a distinct turning point in the educational motivation of Navajo children which occurs around the third or fourth grades. Teachers of beginners through third graders said that their pupils were bright, receptive, and eager to learn, and were amazed at the rapidity with which the children who had spoken and heard only Navajo at home learned English. Beginning with the fourth grade, however, teachers described their students as apathetic, difficult to motivate, uninterested in the school or in learning, and occasionally openly hostile to the teacher and the school experience." [9]

Searching for factors in the life of the Navajo child, both at home and in school, which would make motivation for formal educational experience particularly difficult, Bayne found the following to be important:

1. Navajo grandparents are often antagonistic to the schools. They have feared that in the present as in the past their children would be unfitted for Navajo life.

2. Parents are usually unfamiliar with the school and its work. Many Navajo parents have had only a few years of schooling, and have not found that experience relevant to their occupations as farmers and herders. This situation is changing, however, as more technical job skills are required for employment on the reservation.

3. Educated Navajos are not fully trusted by their own people. In the past education meant forced acculturation, and graduates of government boarding schools came back to their people ignorant and disdainful of traditional Navajo culture, unable and unwilling to live as their parents did. The educated misfits were ridiculed and ostracized for "trying to be white men." This attitude is still prevalent, although most Navajos greatly respect the sophisticated skills of educated people.

4. At home, and in the classroom, social control via peer-group shaming, (the traditional method of discipline in most American Indian cultures) makes responses to unfamiliar situations very tentative. The classroom atmosphere can thus be quite painful for the Navajo child, who will hesitate before responding in class because he knows that an overbright response, a "stupid" answer, or an answer given in incorrect English will make him the butt of his peers' ridicule.

5. Navajo children are brought up to disapprove of those people who consciously try to "get ahead" of others to achieve status. Robert Roessel mentions the classic case of a Navajo girl who received a perfect score on a spelling test and was lavishly praised by the teacher, who was greatly disturbed when the same girl was seemingly unable to spell a single word correctly for weeks after. Made miserable by her peers for being singled out and praised, she chose acceptance on the terms of her culture and peer group, rather than achievement on the terms of the white world of the classroom.[66]

6. The Navajo child responds to the teacher as if the teacher were acting as a full human being, rather than as a role-actor. The child and his parents interpret success or failure in school as a result of the teacher's either liking or disliking the child.

Thus a number of unique cross-cultural conflicts make motivation an extremely difficult problem for the ordinary teacher on the reservation. Miles Zintz mentions in particular the differences in values held by these teachers and their Pueblo Indian children. The teachers valued "mastery, future time orientation, competition and success, individuality and agression" while their pupils held values of "harmony, present time orientation, maintenance of the status quo, anonymity and submissiveness."[93]

Wax,[87] Ray,[62] and Bayne[9] mention another conflict between the school culture and the Indian child. Wax writes "Within Sioux culture all individuals, including children, are free to set their own schedule of activities. Thus the Indian child, when he enters school, is accustomed to an environment in which interference with his plans is minimal. To such a child, formal schooling is excessively and disturbingly regimented."[87] Dorothy Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn write "Children and adults do not belong to two separate worlds. The same set of standards prevails in most things for all ages, from the child to the very old people."[44] This is, of course, not the case in the school, where the child is ordered about, required to conform to a rigid schedule, and is able to make few decisions on his own. Teachers in the Bayne study said that this is especially resented by boys, and may be the reason why many drop out of school. Charles Ray found this true in Alaska, where secondary school dropouts proved to be far more resentful of discipline than those Eskimo and Indian children who remained in school.[62]

Our own field data indicate that Indian children still prefer the style of learning characteristic of their native culture. This involves an extended period of observation initiated by the learner, and an attempt at performance only when the learner feels fairly secure in his ability. Premature, bungling attempts are met with teasing, and successful attempts with quiet acceptance. The characteristics of learning in the American classroom - i.e. initiation by the teacher, constant premature public practice, public praise and public censure - are all antithetical to this aboriginal style. They are also antipathetic to modern American Indian children who, we have found, prefer self-directed and self-initiated projects, ungraded curricula, and learning activities which can be completed with minimal interaction between student and teacher, except when that interaction involves friendly help on an individualized basis.

This implies that the present lecture-discussion-group drill style of the usual reservation classroom is ineffective for Indian children. We have seen this assumption borne out by teachers' statements that their Indian children prefer doing work-sheets to classroom activity, by the success of reading laboratories and programmed courses at several of the schools, and by the contrast between Head Start and first grade classrooms at one of the site schools. The Head Start classroom, where learning takes place in independent activities, is characterized by children who eagerly speak with their teachers in both English and their native language. In the standard first grade classroom, however, the children hardly speak with the teacher at all, and appear inactive and uninterested.

A variation on this theme of preference for individual study and independent activity occurs in the Southwest, where both Papago and Mescalero Apache children prefer studying in small groups. However even these children prefer group work which is oriented toward independent projects which necessitate only a minimal amount of interference from the teacher.

Another theme emerging from our data is that Indian students are most enthusiastic about learning when it is an integral part of creative activities which allow the student to express himself in diverse ways. Thus the popularity of creative writing, drawing, model making, and drama as part of classroom projects. In general, the teachers who mention their success with creative activities have seemed to be more interested in their students and more professionally competent than most. It may be, in fact, that the teachers who stress programmed learning as a solution to classroom problems are not equipped for the far more difficult solution of devising creative, holistic, project-oriented curricula for Indian children. However, both approaches seem to work, and yield far more satisfactory results than lectures and classroom oral drill.

Murray and Rosalie Wax have described the result in the Sioux classroom of conflict between the children and school which results when no attempt is made to adapt the standard American classroom to Indian children. "Issuing from small local communities of kith and kin, and sharing a common set of values and understandings, as well as a language that was unknown to most teachers, the Sioux children could and did create within the formal structure of the educational institution a highly cohesive society of their own." "We observed that in some classrooms the children were learning virtually nothing of a scholastic nature. By the fifth or sixth grade they had become adept at disrupting and inhibiting the process of instruction. They feigned stupidity, refused to listen, sharpened pencils loudly when asked to read, and wrote on the board in letters so small no one could read them. When asked to read aloud they held their books before their faces and mumbled a few incomprehensible words. The teacher was not aware that other pupils were teasing the readers, by signs and whispers in their native language."[85]

Mildred Dickeman has recently analyzed a similar situation among the Oklahoma Cherokees. She found that the culture of the classroom in rural northeastern Oklahoma strongly conflicted with the Cherokee values of emotional restraint, high respect for the autonomy and privacy of others, disapproval of anger and physical violence, and accordance of adult trust and integrity to children. She writes "White teachers expect of their students that they eagerly perform publically, individually, without assistance or emotional support from their peers. They are expected, indeed, to compete and to invidiously compare, to judge and be judged not on the basis of their total personalities . . . but on the basis of their ability to perform allotted tasks in allotted periods of time. Students are expected not only to respond on command . . . but to express joy and enthusiasm at their tasks, also on command. Should they fail to do these things, they may be subjected to loud public verbal abuse, derogating not only their classroom performances, but their intelligence, appearance, socioeconomic status and future prospects. As if this (to a Cherokee) incredible shame were not enough, the Oklahoma school system allows the use of the paddle - the final physical violation of the Cherokee child."[26]

The result is a classroom which, though differing in style from the Sioux classroom, is similar in that the children, placed in an intolerable environment, cease to respond. "The least cooperative students pursue a consistent policy of non-response, even regarding materials on which they are prepared . . The majority of the students employ mumbling or quiet recitation in answering questions concerning schoolwork, but refuse to answer that large class of rhetorical and non-academic questions with which the dispairing teacher fills the silence of the classroom."[26] Finally, "Most Cherokees abandon the fruitless and painful experience soon after they are legally able to do so. Total withdrawal from the school system is the final act in defense of Cherokee feelings of integrity."[26]

The classroom thus becomes a place where a single adult representative of white American cultural values attempts to impose those values on a group of children whose upbringing has been such that those values are intolerable. "Since the participants are one adult and many children, and since the latter are imbued with a cultural standard of nonviolence and passive resistance, open confrontations do not occur. Instead . . . a wall of silence that is impenetrable to the outsider while sheltering a rich emotional communion among themselves."[29]

The conflict is exacerbated by the types of people who are usually found teaching in Indian schools. Dickeman writes "Many of the teachers derive from the local area and have been raised all their lives among Cherokee. But the acquaintance which they have so acquired is similar to that which many whites of the Deep South have about Negroes: it is a ritual of caste, and not a comprehension of humanity."[27] In New Mexico public schools, Zintz found that "Teachers are not sensitive to socio-cultural differences of Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo children. While teachers are aware of some obvious differences in language, customs, and experience backgrounds, they do not interpret underlying value conflicts."[93] Teachers also tend to react to the children in terms of their own white middle-class values. Our field data include an interesting example of the way in which ethnocentric attitudes can affect the interpretation by a teacher of the community around her. We interviewed two teachers at neighboring schools on one of the reservation sites, asking them exactly the same questions, with the following results.

Q. What do you consider the primary purpose of your school?

A-1 Our basic purpose is to teach the children the values of cleanliness, morality, hard work, and discipline.

A-2 We can only try to prepare the children for productive and happy lives.

Q. Does your school stress life on the reservation, or off the reservation?

A-1 The successful Indians are off the reservation. The failures come back, but they're happy here on the reservation because they lead a lazy, undisciplined life (I don't see how they can be happy living the way they do!). They live off welfare, and are ridiculed and ostracized by the Indians when they try to work at steady jobs.

A-2 We stress life off the reservation primarily because there are no jobs here. If jobs could be developed on the reservation, it would of course be preferable. The students really want to return to their home village. They won't even take a job in another section of the reservation if they can help it. The young people are quite frightened of off-reservation life, and simply lack the knowledge to adequately cope with it. The Indians aren't lazy, they're just unwilling to leave their home village. When opportunitities arise at the village area, they are anxious to work, and are conscientious workers.

Q. How do the parents of your students feel about education and your school?

A-1 The parents hold the children back, and teach them not to respect themselves. It is the parents, not white people who tell the children "You're just an Indian - you can't do anything." Parents are hostile to the school, and to education in general, and don't say a thing when they come to meetings. The Indians don't see the purpose of trying to get ahead in life because whatever money they make or possessions they acquire have to be shared with everyone - so why should they try?

A-2 Of course parents contribute to keeping the children at the village - they would like their children to be home the same as white parents, if not more. Nevertheless, the parents feel positively about education and the school, and participate actively in community meetings.

Q. What future do you envision for your present elementary school students?

A-1. Most of them will just come back here and be welfare cases. Education doesn't seem to help at all.

A-2. They are the generation which is really going to change things and develop real opportunities for themselves on the reservation.

The contrasts evident from the answers to our questions are more striking in light of the backgrounds of the two teachers, which are essentially the same. Both are from the Midwest, have had their primary teaching experience in Midwest public schools, and both have taught previously on another reservation. Teacher A-1 has been at her present position for two years, and teacher A-2 has been at hers for five years. The main difference between the two, both of whom are dedicated teachers, is that teacher A-1 has never questioned her middle-class values, and is intent upon imposing them upon her pupils, who she judges to be deficient according to those values. Teacher A-2, however, tries to understand the children and their community in their own terms, and doesn't attempt to judge them by her own values. Thus teacher A-1 is basically pessimistic about the children, since they will never live up to her values, while teacher A-2 is basically optimistic about her pupils because she sees them working toward lives which will probably be more satisfying for them than the lives of their parents, many of whom have had to leave their communities in order to find any kind of work. Both teachers are angry and frustrated with the apathetic B.I.A. bureaucracy. However teacher A-2 is deeply involved with community development activities, and participates actively in the life of the Indian community, while teacher A-1 merely complains that the parents never come to her.

Unfortunately for Indian education, the vast majority of teachers we interviewed were more like teacher A-1 than teacher A-2. Of the 76 teachers interviewed by Bayne on Arizona reservations "Only nine had any special preparation or training for the cross-cultural problems involved in teaching American Indian children. Over one third of the teachers not only lacked knowledge and experience with other cultures, but were uninterested in their jobs as teachers of American Indian children."[9] As the valedictorian of a large off-reservation boarding school informed us, " . . . most of these teachers are here to teach and then get home as soon as possible."

A minority of the teachers we interviewed (our rough estimate is 6%) were not only unprepared for cross-cultural teaching, but were also prejudiced against Indian children. Among these we might mention a 68 year old boarding school teacher who described his pupils as "scrapings from the bottom of the barrel", and told us "these kids don't have much between the ears," and another boarding school teacher who asked an Indian member of our project if he knew two "lousy, rotten" kids who were members of his tribe. This teacher type is not endemic to the boarding schools, however. A member of our project interviewed the mother of a promising young Indian athlete who, on asking his football coach in a public junior high why he was constantly being benched was told "If you want to play football why don't you go to the Indian school to play!"

Our survey found that in every school there were some teachers interested in their students and sensitive to their problems. However, almost without fail these intelligent and dynamic teachers were also condescending and patronizing toward their students. They had considered the possibility of cultural differences as an explanation for the behavior of their students, and had emphatically rejected it. For them the students were no different from other children except that they lived in a culture of poverty. The students merely lacked diverse experiences, responsible adult models, and economic opportunity. In short, these teachers believed that greater doses of compensatory education would properly assimilate Indian students into the general culture. If these teachers did not openly suggest that their students should leave the reservation, they suggested that the reservation become like the rest of American society. None of them suggested that there might be acceptable values within the Indian community.

Finally, when speaking of the teachers of American Indian children, we must mention a vicious circle of low expectations and low standards prevalent in most of the schools studied by this project, as well as by others previously. The circle begins when a teacher starts teaching at an Indian school for the first time, having had previous experience only with white schools for white children - schools in which the values and practices are congruent with those of the child's home and community. Expecting to function basically the same way in the Indian school as in the white school, the teacher is immediately faced with the tremendous classroom problems resulting from real lack of congruence between the culture of the child's home and community, and the culture of the classroom.

Specifically, the teacher must deal with children for whom English is not a first language, for whom certain types of competitive behavior are repugnant, for whom schedules, and rigid classroom discipline are frustrating, and who are confused and uncertain of their identities and place in the world of white America. Faced with the immense difficulty of dealing with these children, and untrained in the subtle and sophisticated means by which a handful of teachers manage to reorient the classroom toward the cultural norms and expectations of the children, the teacher reacts by drastically lowering her standards of classroom achievement, since she finds it is impossible for the children to meet even minimally the standards of the white school she is used to. Standards are lowered, and lowered again until the children meet some set of lowered criteria of success. Teaching according to these new standards, the teacher experiences her first feelings of achievement, and is thus reinforced in keeping the low standards, and in believing that the Indian children are incapable of meeting standards any higher. The vicious circle is then complete - the teacher teaches according to low standards, and thus the children achieve only drastically lowered educational goals, reinforcing the teachers use of low standards, which finally assures low achievement.

The School and the Community

The studies referred to make it clear that at the base of the problems in formal education for American Indian children in the classroom is a substantial difference between the cultural values and attitudes of the child and those of the white American school. The classroom, however, is not a world isolated from the rest of the community and the country at large. We are convinced that one of the most crucial problems in the education of Indian children is the general relationship between white people, especially the white power structure, and Indians. This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local government. The relationship is basically paternalistic - the Bureau of Indian Affairs, government officials in other agencies, and church officials have still not laid down their "white man's burden." The paternalism is sometimes implemented with kindness and good intentions, and at other times with frequent expressions of overt prejudice. Yet however the intentions are implemented, the effects are the same: a loss of self esteem, a sense of powerlessness, a perception of inability to cope with everyday problems, and a distrust of the white man and his system.

Thus, many Indians are convinced that they are incapable of doing anything, that the white man is far more intelligent and capable than they are, and that they should not interfere. The image of the "lazy, worthless Indian" held by generations of white administrators, teachers, traders, and missionaries on the reservations has unfortunately become a self image. Needless to say, it is a self image of children as well as adults. Teachers at an integrated junior high school refused to find out for us how many of their pupils were part Indian because the Indian children were embarrassed and ashamed of being Indian and did not want any attention drawn to them. Essays collected by the project from seventh and eighth graders attending an all Indian school in Oklahoma indicate that the children are extremely defensive about their color, stressing that "Indians are light color", and "an Indians is light complected and can be a Caucasian", and have adopted white stereotypes of themselves - "I'm not very proud to be a Indian because their is a lot of drinking and fighting and now you can hardly get a job."

Any conflict between the white power structure and the Indian community is thus hardly a conflict at all - one side has already defined itself as the loser, and the other side persists in its practices without noticing or communicating with the other.

In fact, from the earliest attempts at government formal education to the present, there has been almost no attempt by the schools to establish communication with the parents and relatives of Indian children, much less any attempt to understand their attitudes and adapt curricula to their culture. Murray and Rosalie Wax found that on the Pine Ridge Reservation "The parents rarely entered the school and never saw what went on in the classrooms; whereas the teachers on their part never visited the parents or attended any of the local Indian social events . . . Indian elders were not permitted to use the school for gatherings or entertainments, lest they dirty the floors and destroy government property. Around each consolidated school was a compound in which the teachers lived and kept to themselves." " . . . Sioux elders, faced with the power of the education establishment, simply withdrew. In this tactic they were encouraged by the education administrators, who found the absense of the parents convenient and proper, since the parents would have no background for understanding the operations of the school 'and could only have interfered.'" [83] Bayne found the same situation prevalent on the Navajo and Papago reservations in Arizona.

At each of the sites we visited, we found almost no communication between the school and the surrounding Indian community. At one school, tension between parents and teachers reached such a point that teachers asked the principal to discontinue home visits. Even teachers who had been on the reservation over ten years were unwelcome in Indian homes. Needless to say, parents almost never visited the school. On another reservation the houses of Indian families are separated from the school and the houses of B.I.A. families by a deep ditch. Separate roads lead into the community on either side of the ditch, and no roads cross it. None of the teachers had ever been invited to an Indian home, and few parents ever visited the school. On another reservation the Tribal Chairman told us "The only time the schools contact me is when the kids are in real trouble and the school wants me to get the probation officer in contact with the parents."

Yet administrators at the schools never articulated the school's problems in terms of cultural differences or breakdown of communication between school and community. They preferred to speak in terms of attendance and language problems, reflecting their basic lack of understanding and respect of people for whom time is not measured by the minutes of an inflexible schedule, and for whom the ability to speak their native language is not a "deficiency". Few of the teachers, of course, can speak more than a few words of the language of their students.

Even worse than this breakdown of communication, is the refusal of local administrators and field workers to allow the Indian communities any real control of programs and institutions when the community's desires or actions are contrary to those of the agency. The Waxes, in "Enemies of the People", describe the process by which idealistic and untrained Vista workers and social service professionals inaugurate and firmly control a Head Start reservation program, completely ignoring the reservation communities. "We visited many Head Start projects for Indian cultures, and in most of them we found that the programs had been funded, planned, staffed, and put into operation with virtually no involvement of the children's parents. At several of the schools the parents had subsequently approached the directors and teachers with complaints and suggestions concerning the operations of the schools. But in every case, the professional staff regarded this parental interest with distress . . . as if it reflected a failure either in planning or procedure. Parental involvement was defined as the parents complying with the suggestions of the teachers."[83]* Similarly, although the Bureau of Indian Affairs is officially on record as encouraging and supporting control of the schools by local school boards composed of Indians of the community, one still encounters the old attitudes, as exemplified by a B.I.A. Area Director for Education who told us that "We cannot allow a board of illiterates to run the schools," and the B.I.A. official who, in our presence, told a group of Indian leaders "The best thing you can do about education is to leave the decisions to us. The Bureau schools have been good for you - look where you are now!"

Experiments in Community Control

The beginning pages of this report have demonstrated how viable American Indian communities were deprived of their normal functions by a reservation system which controlled most aspects of community life. It was also documented that the community itself, though stripped of its functional importance, still exists. In such a situation, when it is becoming nationally apparent that healthy, functioning communities are necessary for a beginning in erasing poverty from the country, it seems obvious that American Indian communities must be allowed to redevelop the responsibility for their own welfare and progress. The type of "community development" work described by the Waxes is antithetical to this goal. Rather than re-establishing community functioning, it introduces only a new form of benevolent colonialism. It must also be obvious that if a community is to control its own destiny to any degree, it must have control over the education of its children. Indeed, while Indian communities still exist (and considering the fact that they have kept alive for over thirty thousand years, including over four hundred years of internal colonialism, they have good prospects of continuing for a long time to come) and while they maintain a cultural basis for human life quite different from that of white America, it can be argued that the only solution to the problem of education for American Indian children is for education to be placed back within the culture in which the children are raised. This does not mean that Indian children will be unfitted for life in the here-and-now of America by attending Indian schools which are unrelated to the larger American society. Indian parents are too strongly concerned with the economic and social welfare of their children to allow that to happen. What it does mean, however, is impossible to say directly. This is up to each individual community, just as it is up to non-Indian communities across the country. Some idea, however, can be gotten from an examination of some experiments in community control of education which have only recently begun.

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* Our own observations of Head Start projects on the Hopi and Fort Berthold Reservations do not, however, confirm the Waxes experience. Both programs were marked by real parental pride and involvement.

Before going into these, however, we should note that the operation of a Western formal education system by American Indian communities is not a completely new phenonmenon. Throughout most of the 19th century the Cherokees and Choctaws operated their own school systems, at first in their native lands in Georgia and Alabama, and later in the Oklahoma "Indian Country" after removal in 1832. School was taught in English and the native languages, both native languages having been committed to writing by missionaries, in the Choctaw case, and by Sequoyah for the Cherokees. The Choctaw school system included a central board of education with elected district trustees, who appointed local trustees. The trustees were in charge of selecting teachers (who were both white and Choctaw) examining teachers, visiting the schools, and encouraging school attendance within the community. The system included boarding schools, community day schools, Sunday school literacy classes, and college scholarships. Angie Debo writes that "As a result of its excellent public-school system the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states; the number of college graduates one encounters in any contemporary record is surprising, and the quality of written English used by the Choctaws both in their official and private correspondence is distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them."[25]

The most widely publicized of the new ventures in community control is the Rough Rock School on the Navajo Reservation. After the failure, in 1965, of an attempt to superimpose an O.E.O. team of community development professionals on the B.I.A. teaching staff at Lukachukai in hopes of creating an experimental school, both O.E.O. and the B.I.A. contributed money toward the funding of a community-oriented experimental school at Rough Rock, an isolated community in the north-central part of the Navajo Reservation. Funds, amounting to over $600,000 were turned over to a private, non-profit organization composed of Navajos from the Tribal Council, and a new $3 1/2 million school was given to the project by the B.I.A. The people of Rough Rock elected one woman and four men to the school board. "All were middle-aged Navajo and only two ever had had as much as a day of formal education."[65] Complete control of the school was immediately passed to this board.

The principal, Dr. Robert Roessel, and his staff (most of whom are Navajo), and the school board operate the school jointly. "Once a week Roessel and his senior staff spend the entire day, seated around a table, discussing a part of the master program with the board, explaining what lies behind it and the reasons the staff considers it important. In each instance the board has accepted the proposal, frequently modifying it, however, and adding a Navajo cast to it."[65]

This "Navajo cast" is evident in the classroom and curriculum of the experimental school. "Navajo motifs are mixed freely with other classroom decorations. The library has a Navajo corner. Recordings of Navajo music and rituals are played during the school day. In the evening, old men, the historians and medicine men of the tribe, come to the dormitories and tell Navajo folk tales and legends. Navajo is taught in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades for one hour three days a week."[65]

One must not, however, confuse a strong emphasis on native culture with community orientation and community control. It is perfectly possible for an Indian community to decide not to stress native culture in its school. That is its right. What is more important, from the standpoint of total education of human beings, both young and old, in the community is the way in which the community includes the process of educating its people among its own vital functions. The important question a community needs to answer in this regard is, "Is the school our school, or is it theirs?"

For Rough Rock, the answer to this question has been highly controversial. The community is certainly strongly involved with the operation and use of the school. School facilities are open to anyone in the community who wants to use them, the school sponsors fairs, movies, and sports events; parents are always welcome in the school and at school board meetings, and are hired (eight every month on a rotating basis) to mend clothes, tell stories, and perform other tasks in the dormitories. Rough Rock staff members visit the homes of their pupils at least twice a year. Finally, an extensive adult-education program is operated by the school, with adults choosing the type of instruction to be offered.

Critics of the Rough Rock program have pointed out, however, that the Rough Rock Community neither initiated the school, nor is capable of financially supporting it. Without the extraordinary benevolence of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, one questions whether a community call the school dine bi'olta' (the Navajo's school), and in its everyday operation it perhaps is their school. But would that everyday operation continue if the B.I.A. and/or O.E.O. changed its funding ideas, or its policy--and would it continue without Dr. Roessel and his core of educators trained in cross-cultural education at Arizona State University?

These questions and others relating to the efficacy of Rough Rock as a demonstration school are presently impossible to answer because of the demonstrated reluctance of the Rough Rock administrators to allow independent evaluations of the school. One thing is certain, the initiation and funding of Rough Rock cannot be safely regarded as a model for other community schools.

CASE STUDY I--WHITE EAGLE COMMUNITY

Our first case study concerns the Ponca Indian community of White Eagle, located five miles from Ponca City, Oklahoma. This site was chosen over other Oklahoma sites primarily because the late president of the National Indian Youth Council, under whose auspices this study was made, was a member of the Ponca Tribe. His participation, through our work at White Eagle, was felt to be a definite benefit to the study as a whole.

The Indians now living in White Eagle are descendents of Poncas who were forcibly removed from Nebraska in 1877 by the U.S. Army and brought to Oklahoma, where over one-third died during the first year and the rest became early prey to outlaw whisky runners.

Today the Oklahoma Poncas live adjacent to the affluent community of Ponca City, (headquarters of the Continental Oil Company which employs few Indians because they are "undependable"), yet they are one of the most poverty stricken groups in Oklahoma. "Unemployment rates run between 65-75%. They have inadequate housing and suffer from poor sanitation and health, and it is believed that many of them have chronic diet deficiencies. There is a high rate of alcoholism...and crimes due to the use of alcohol." (field report by Della Warrior)

The Ponca situation is currently both complex and contradictory. On the one hand, the Oklahoma Poncas have the reputation of being more self-consciously Indian and far less acculturated than other Oklahoma Indians. In his definitive study of the Poncas, James H. Howard writes "Indian ways are still highly valued by many, and participation in the Peyote rites and Indian powwows continues to be important...they furnish singers and dancers for the celebrations of many surrounding tribes." On the other hand, Poncas are known generally in Oklahoma as apathetic, irresponsible, belligerent, and self-deprecating.

Questionnaires and interviews of Ponca students at the White Eagle School and at Ponca City High School reveal that they are more conscious of their membership in a low caste racial minority than they are of being Ponca. There is no evidence of a positive Indian identity, or of any feeling for a tribal heritage.

The only positive aspect of Indian identity they mention is that Indians are almost White. They stress this repeatedly in their essays. "An Indian...is a light color of a person." "An Indian is a person who is light complected." "An Indian can be a caucasian, a light colored person." Other than this, they seem to find nothing positive about being Indian. They say "I'm not very proud to be an Indian in Ponca City because there is a lot of drinking and fighting and now you can hardly get a job in Ponca City." One girl writes that the only thing special about being Ponca is that "Everyone says they're lazy and like to fight."

Apathy about their cultural heritage is coupled, frequently, with denigration. When asked what the "Indian way" means to them, they answered "Beliefs in some old myths," and "Things that older people have done and they would have their children go on doing and don't realize the world is changing."

Our case study begins, late in 1967, with the efforts of the former president of the National Indian Youth Council, the late Clyde Warrior, and his wife, to initiate community development activities in White Eagle. Mr. Warrior, college educated and known nationally as a "radical" Indian organizer, was particularly interested in education oriented programs of community development such as those organized for the Ute Tribe by Francis McKinley--programs Mr. Warrior observed during a visit to the Ute Reservation in 1963.

Our basic question was whether Mr. Warrior would be accepted by his own people as a change agent, and be able to stimulate a notoriously apathetic community to awareness of its problems, and to subsequent action. We knew that educated Indians are often spurned by their home communities as "White Men," and that at White Eagle the more successful Poncas, rather than face the enmity of their own community, drift into the White middle class world of Ponca City, separating themselves completely from their fellow tribesmen. The Warriors faced the additional difficulty that Mrs. Warrior was not a Ponca, but an Otoe--a member of a tribe located 40 miles from White Eagle. Thus her role as a community development worker was made doubly difficult.

The Warriors and the Project staff at the Far West Laboratory decided that the best methodology to follow at White Eagle would be to gradually gather baseline data while developing pilot projects of community action. Both Mr. and Mrs. Warrior felt that the Poncas needed some kind of successful experience to demonstrate to themselves and to the surrounding white world their ability to bring about change with concerted action, in contrast to their normal ingroup bickering and factionalism.

The Warrior's first chance to test their effectiveness in community action came in April, 1968 when an election was scheduled for a new member of the school board for the White Eagle School. This small public elementary school (enrollment 67), exclusively attended by Ponca children, was and is a problem school, described by one local "middle class" Indian as a "blight on the community." Attendance is sporadic, achievement is far below State Norms, and the dropout rate by sixth grade is an incredible 87%. There is little communication between school personnel and the Indian community, and many Indians report that teachers hold a very low opinion of their children. Efforts are periodically made by Ponca City Whites and "middle class" oriented Indians to close the school down, recommending instead that the children attend integrated schools in Ponca City. The majority of the Indian community, however, perfer to keep the school open, improve it, and convert it into a community controlled school. The Warriors felt that the election of an Indian to the school board (none had been on the board for 20 years) each time a position opened would begin to accomplish this purpose.

The Warriors immediately began a campaign of canvassing, talking to friends and neighbors, and holding meetings discussing registration, voting, and the function of school boards. During this effort, they found the reason no Indian had served on the board for 20 years was that local officials had convinced them that registration procedures were extremely complicated, and would put the Indians in jeopardy of having their land taxed. Secondly, many Indians were afraid of losing their rented homes through retaliation by the white community, and some had actually been so threatened.

The result of the Warrior's registration and voting drive was the retirement of the white candidate from an election he could not possibly win, with the automatic election of the Indian candidate sponsored by the Warriors and the White Eagle Community.

The enthusiasm and community solidarity stimulated by the school board election, led, in May to the formation by members of the Indian community, of the White Eagle Community Development Association. With funds and materials from foundations and civic groups, the non-profit association, composed of fifty members of the White Eagle Indian community, formulated plans for a library, tutoring and remedial programs, counseling, guidance and recreational programs, business cooperatives, and a series of radio programs for the Ponca community.

Before detailing the programs of the White Eagle Community Development Association, mention should be made of the effect upon the White community of the National Indian Youth Council's participation in the Poor People's Campaign of May 1968 and Mr. Warrior's speech against white racism, which was reported in the national press. Mr. Warrior was denounced by the Ponca City whites as a Communist, and was evicted from his home. Even after Mr. Warrior's death in June of 1968, the Community Development Organization found difficulty in getting the assistance and cooperation of local groups for its programs. With financing from State and National organizations, however, many of the programs became successes.

Mention should specifically be made of the local Baptist and Methodist churches which sponsored tutorial programs, the publisher of Ponca City's newspaper who enabled the organization to conduct a series of radio programs, the Coalition of American Indian Citizens and Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity who helped the organization arrange major funding through the National Council of the Episcopal Church, a local lawyer who donated voluntary legal services, the local BIA social worker, and the Ponca Tribal Council and Ponca City Chamber of Commerce, both of which pledged the organization full support.

The organizations' programs to date are as follows:

1. Tutorial Program - Supported by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, the Association organized a summer tutorial program for sixth and seventh graders who

would be transferring from the White Eagle School to attend Junior High School in Ponca City. In an attempt to bridge the educational gap which would put the Ponca students at a disadvantage to white students from Ponca City, an eight week program was developed with courses in current events, English writing and grammar, mathematics and social studies, and discussions of Ponca culture and history.

2. Ponca Culture Course - Following the successful summer tutoring program, members of the Association approached the principal of the White Eagle School with a request that a course in Ponca history and culture, taught by members of the Ponca community, be included in the curriculum. The results of this request, which was based on the observable need for Ponca youngsters to have some feeling of positive identity as Indians, are documented in Mrs. Warrior's report of January, 1968 to the Far West Laboratory.

"The principal agreed to the value of such a course, and said it could probably be anchored into the school schedule, and that she would personally get to work on it. One month later she informed us that the procedure was to contact the clerk of the school board and the County Superintendent of Schools. She said the chances were favorable and hoped it worked out because she 'wanted to help the Indian children in every possible way.'

"The clerk was contacted and she too appeared favorable to the idea and stated she would meet with the school board soon and discuss it, and contact the White Eagle Community Development Association. The next step proved less rewarding as the County Superintendent said the teachers felt that the course would cramp their schedule too much, and in any event the School Board was against the whole idea.

"Following this conversation, the Principal was contacted and when told of the Superintendent's response, she said 'It sounds to me like somebody's passing the buck.' She then stated she would check it out and inform us of the results. A few days later she called and said everything was set up, and gave the White Eagle Community Development Association a date and time when the classes could begin.

"With this information, and assuming that as Principal, she knew the proper method of doing things, we proceeded in setting up the course. The following day, after an article about the course appeared in the paper, the Superintendent of Schools called and informed us the whole deal was impossible. He had reviewed the schedule and found that if the coursewere taught, the children would be deprived of 54 hours of subjects they 'NEEDED,' such as Math, English, Science, Etc. Further, he said, the teachers were doing very well in incorporating Indian culture into their teaching. Besides, he didn't see the value because this was 'a competitive world and their culture was going to be lost anyway and they would be better off in the long run if they knew less of it.' He also said that many felt the theme of the course would be to 'teach the children to hate white people.' Even some of the Indian parents were against it. One had told him that she would 'rather have a fork any day than have a horse.'

"After considering the enthusiasm and the subsequent disappointment many Poncas would have, the White Eagle Community Development Association decided to confront the Superintendent and talk the matter over with him to satisfy themselves. He was not in agreement with this, so about ten Poncas converged upon the school to meet with the teachers. The Principal immediately excused herself to phone the Superintendent of Schools. He refused to come down to the school, but gave his permission to dismiss school for the afternoon for the purpose of fully explaining why the course was impossible.

"The Poncas' response to this was that the Superintendent and teachers could afford to dismiss school at their discretion, (that day's loss of 4 1/2 hours a week was an example) but they wouldn't allow them 1 1/2 hours a week with their children. The Principal took the blame for mishandling things. To say the least, the Poncas were "put out" with the Principal and the Superintendent--their attitude was that all legalities had been uninforced for a number of years and now that they were attempting one small program, all the legal chicanery had been suddenly brought into full force.

"The final result was to proceed with these classes outside the realm of the school and attempt to prepare course material to be submitted directly to the State Board of Education.

"Since some of the Indian parents seemed to feel they didn't want their children involved in the program as it would hinder their ability to compete, a questionnaire was sent around to get an indication of the number of persons who would participate.

When the teachers learned the Association was going ahead with the program, they communicated their disapproval. Since then, they have been obligingly polite and cooperative."

3. Radio Program - In January the White Eagle Community Development Association initiated a series of weekly 15 minute radio programs over the local station WBBZ. The purposes of these broadcasts, as defined by the Association are to:

   (1) serve the cultural and educational needs of the Indian community

   (2) discuss the Indians' position in society and clarify the nature of their problems, and

   (3) serve the Ponca City community by providing a forum for discussion between Indians and non-Indians.

4. Civil Rights Activities - During November 1968, the Association achieved success in two related Civil Rights issues. For many years a cafe in Red Rock, located some 16 miles from Ponca City, had displayed a sign reading "No beer served to Indians." When informed of this, an Association official, accompanied by a social worker from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, visited the cafe proprietor and advised him that he was in violation of the State anti-discrimination law. Within a week the offending sign was removed.

   In a simular situation, a certain bar in Ponca City had consistently refused to serve Indians. To test the case, a young member of the Association went to the bar, requested service, and was refused. When he protested, the bartender explained that a city ordinance existed forbidding bar service to

Indians within the city limits. The Association investigated, and found that no such ordinance existed.

5. Employment - Association members visited the Continental Oil Company in November to confer with company officials regarding more employment for Ponca Indians and the possibility that the company might establish a cooperative store and gas station at White Eagle. Mrs. Warrior reports the company officials were very interested, and that they requested a statement from the Association on how such enterprises might contribute toward education experiences for people of the White Eagle community.

6. General Store - In December the Association received a grant from the Episcopal Church to start a cooperative general store. Profits were to be fed back into the cooperative to be used for extending its functions to a credit union or perhaps a scholarship fund. At the present time the store is handling groceries exclusively, with hopes to increase the diversity of merchandise in the near future.

The White Eagle case, obviously, does not demonstrate a "grassroots" movement. The Warriors, even though Indians from the area themselves, must be considered external change agents. However it does demonstrate a viable and growing community response to a minimal stimulus. Starting simply, with a voter registration drive, the Warriors provided the beginning for an active community organization with continually expanding functions and interests. The community, united for the first time in years over an education issue, realized its collective power to influence its own affairs in civil rights, community relations, and employment.

Indeed, White Eagle is almost a classic case of community awakening. Growth from a jealousy-ridden, bickering, self denigrating group without formal community functions (yet with the family-kin matrix which provided a base for growth) proceeded within one year through stages of charismatic leader orientation and controversial issue orientation, to an aware community attempting to solve its problems through organization and systematic planning. This is not to say that the original problems are solved, or that the stages of growth have been clear-cut or complete. Leadership is still problematic and contested, and the organization falls into relative inaction without important issues. Bickering and jealousies still arise both within the organization and between the organization and civic and church groups financing and cooperating in its efforts. However, for the first time, a systematic and organized attempt, with a base in local leadership and participation, is being made by the White Eagle Community to work on its problems. The White Eagle Community Development Association must deal with a public school system unresponsive to Indian culture and community preferences, with Southwest racial discrimination, with unemployment, and with apathy and distrust within the community. These problems will be solved by many means--by assumption of community control over education via community choice of a school board and community directed teaching of Ponca history, culture and values, or by legal contesting of discriminatory practices, and by organized programs of economic cooperation and employment assistance. Most important, though, will be the pride and confidence in accomplishment which these efforts will engender in the White Eagle Community--an absolute prerequisite for growth to confident control by the Ponca people of their lives and their children's future.

CASE STUDY II--LONEMAN DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

The second case study illustrates far better than Rough Rock the complex difficulties of introducing community-directed education on an Indian reservation. This narrative does not record a success, but rather the failure of the Indian people to take control of their community school.

On August 8, 1968, the residents of the White Clay District on the Pine Ridge Sioux Indian Reservation voted in a referendum to decide whether the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Loneman Day School should be operated by a non-profit local Indian sponsored organization, known as Oyate Inc. The proposal was rejected by a vote of 134 to 104. The defeat ended four years of planning and developmental work for the Loneman Demonstration School Project by an all Indian Advisory School Board and by Indian community leaders from the White Clay District.

The demonstration school proposal was started in 1964 in response to urgings to initiate "grass roots" community action programs by War on Poverty warriors from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The proposal was soon lost in a welter of confusion, misunderstanding, political conflicts, legal complications, opposition from the Tribal Council, and ambivalence and indecision on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The ambitious project that at one time had the support of a majority of thc patrons of the Loneman Day School and the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council opened a Pandora's box of ancient tribal rivalries and jealousies. The proposed project was the source of personality clashes, fears of violating peace treaties with the United States Government, and anxieties about the United States Congress hastening termination of trust responsibilities over American Indians because they were brash enough to demand self-determination. The proposal became a major political campaign issue in the ensuing election and might have contributed to the defeat of the Chairman of the Tribal Council and some Council members who were its advocates.

Before giving details of the history of this case, a few facts about the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and its people should be given. These facts will particularly concern those people who live and who are served by the controversial Loneman Day School.

Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was established on March 2, 1889. Various bands of Oglala Sioux Indians from the larger Oglala Teton Sioux Indian group gathered together on what is the second largest Indian reservation in the United States. Today the reservation comprises some 2,786,578 acres or 4,353 square miles, twice the size of the State of Delaware. The reservation is situated in the southwestern area of the State of South Dakota and its southern boundary lines border on the Nebraska state line. Residing on this reservation are approximately 10,000 Oglala Sioux Indians, one of the largest of the Sioux Indian tribes. Over half of the reservation population lives in isolated areas, while the rest lives in small rural settlements. The reservation is geographically isolated. The land is poor. Much of it is allotted to individual Indians who are long deceased, but whose heirs now do not use the land because of a complicated land tenure system created by Federal trusteeship. Only about 11 percent of the land is used for agricultural purposes.

Three Federal Government agencies serve the reservation: the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Division of Indian Health of the U.S. Public Health Services, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. In the past few years, other agencies of the Federal Government have begun to provide many additional services.

The reservation is divided into eight districts, mostly for determining representation on the Tribal Council which is the governing body of the tribe.

The Oglala Sioux Tribal Council

The Oglala Sioux Indian Tribe was organized on January 7, 1936, under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 984) as amended. This Act, passed by the United States Congress, was to provide a "new deal" for the American Indians and allow them to establish their own governments.

The governing body of the Tribe, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council, is composed of 32 members who represent the eight districts of the reservation. Elections are held every two years. The Tribal Council elects its Chairman who is the presiding officer and exercises a certain number of administrative functions. He is assisted by an Executive Committee consisting of four members. One unique feature of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council's Executive Committee is that the Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the Pine Ridge Reservation is a member. The explanation given for his membership is that the Oglala Sioux Indians do not trust their Tribal Council and, ostensibly, the Superintendent will protect their interests.

The Tribal Council appoints both permanent and ad hoc committees as well as an administrative staff. One such committee is the

Reservation Education Planning Committee which advises and counsels the Tribal Council on educational matters. This Committee is distinct from the committees which function at a lower level in the Tribe's political hierarchy, namely, the community and district educational committees and the advisory school boards.

White Clay District

The White Clay District is situated on the western end of the Pine Ridge Reservation. During the past year, the U.S. Public Health Service conducted a baseline study of the Pine Ridge population, including a statistical description of the White Clay population. The following data drawn from this USPHS study, which is the most recent we have seen, appears to conform closely with other Pine Ridge studies.

The White Clay population consists of 1,100 people in 196 households. Two-thirds are full blood, and over half are under the age of 20. The predominant settlement pattern consists of isolated cabins (65%), with variations of kinship-centered house clusters (20%) and village groupings (15%). Over half the population is bilingual in English and Lakota, and over two-thirds have never lived off the reservation. Only 66 percent of the White Clay children live with both parents in the household.

Over two-thirds of the adult males with families have incomes under the poverty level of $3,000, and over 40 percent are unemployed.* Of those employed, 50 percent work for either the BIA or OEO. Eighty percent of the Indian landowners in White Clay are either leasing or simply not using their land. Forty-two percent of the population is currently on welfare rolls.

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*Probably a low estimate reflecting very temporary OEO employment.

The level of education of the White Clay population is quite low by national standards. Only 25 percent have completed elementary school.

Loneman Day School

Loneman Day School predominantly serves children from the White Clay District. This area is populated by extremely poor full-blood families, and is characterized by inadequate roads and grave problems of sanitation, water availability, and housing. Ironically, it is also the reservation area with the highest concentration of college graduates.

The present Loneman School is the product of a 1957 consolidation of three former BIA day schools, serving five small communities in a radius of about 40 miles. Although the school was built to serve 150 pupils, enrollment during the 1967-68 school year was officially 230, almost all of whom were Indian. Average daily attendance, however, was only 180. During the year, 23 children in grades 1-8 dropped out of school, while 19 enrolled at random intervals throughout the year. The school maintains a staff of 11 teachers, 40 percent of whom leave the school each year. They follow the usual age pattern found in BIA schools--either quite young or quite old, with few in between. Their median age is 53, with none between the ages of 26 and 47.

Difficulties of life in the White Clay District are reflected in the philosophy of the former principal, who told us he must place equal emphasis on instruction, sanitation, nutrition and transportation. They are also reflected in the school's policy of not assigning homework, as the one-room cabins the children live in provide no suitable space for study. The mobility of the Pine Ridge population presents additional problems. With most families engaged in seasonal agricultural labor, few children stay at one school for many years. Of the 27 children who enrolled in fourth grade in 1963, only 9 were still in attendance in the eighth-grade class of 1967, thus representing a mobility factor of 66 percent. Within the classroom one observes the typical pattern described by Murray and Rosalie Wax and Robert Dumont--withdrawn, unresponsive and uncompetitive children whose major communication with the teacher consists of monosyllables.

For the past four years, the Loneman School has had more parent involvement than any other school on the reservation. Although a number of community group programs such as Boy Scouts and 4H, and the school board are quite active, there is great latitude for improvement. First of all, parent participation has been for the most part peripheral to central educational concerns, dealing rather with social and recreational activities. Secondly, participation has primarily come from the area immediately surrounding the school, with minimal response from people living in the outlying districts which are as far as 40 miles. The poorest, least educated people in the isolated traditional communities have still not been reached.

Development of the Community-Controlled School

When the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to close many of the day schools they had formally operated and to transfer students to larger, consolidated schools, the idea of community-controlled schools was conceived as an alternative to the consolidated schools. The Indians were opposed to closing the small, isolated schools of the Bureau because they served as centers for community activities. As such, the schools were accessible and welcomed by the Indians. Many of the Oglala Sioux Indians considered approaching the Bureau of Indian Affairs to see if some kind of arrangement could be made whereby the Indians could continue to operate the smaller schools. By assuming responsibility for the operation of the schools, they felt they could help assure quality education for their children. They also felt they could maintain their feeling of closeness and familiarity with the schools--a feeling which was not present with the large consolidated schools.

The first formal meeting held to discuss the idea of designating one of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools as a demonstration school under the management of local Indians was held at the Porcupine School in early 1964. The meeting was organized under the leadership of Mr. William Whirlwind Horse, then serving as the Chairman of the Tribal Council. The keynote speaker was Dr. Robert R. Roessel, Professor of Education at the Arizona State University, and a Chairman of the President's Task Force on Indian Poverty. Dr. Roessel had long advocated active Indian participation in schools for successful educational experiences for Indian children. His plans for community development centered on the school as a focal point for action in mobilizing Indians for change and progress.

Another participant was Mr. Robert Dumont, an Assiniboine Sioux from the Fort Peck Indian Reservation. Mr. Dumont reported on the Wax study of education on the Pine Ridge Reservation published in 1964, in which he had participated as a researcher. The report concluded that the failure to educate Oglala Sioux Indian children was due primarily to two reasons: (a) there was no communication between the school and the Indian community; and (b) within the classroom, Sioux students had developed techniques for completely isolating themselves from the teachers.

At this same time (1964), the Federal Government had initiated programs and policies that might have influenced Indian thinking about more control and responsibility over their own affairs. One such program was the poverty program under the Office of Economic Opportunity. A significant Indian policy known as the Ten-Year Indian Development Program was also announced by the Secretary of the Interior. According to Indian observers, the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were trying to meet the challenges implicit in the newly announced poverty program. Doing so might succeed in actively involving the American Indians in their affairs, an objective which had long and unsuccessfully been sought by the Department of the Interior.

Another factor which might have influenced the Oglala Sioux tribal leaders was a plan submitted by the Shannon County Public School District, which includes a part of the Pine Ridge Reservation. This plan proposed the unification of the public school and the Bureau of Indian Affairs school systems. The plan called for the transfer of BIA operated schools to the public school district at the beginning of the school year of 1967-68. The first school to be transferred would be the Loneman School, followed by the Porcupine School in 1968-69, and the Manderson School in 1969-70. The proposal was made in accordance with the policy developed in the early 50's by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in systematically closing Indian day and boarding schools on many reservations and transferring the students to public schools.

The Loneman Demonstration School--Planning and Development

The Porcupine Day School, located approximately in the center of the Pine Ridge Reservation, was the original site considered for the demonstration school by the tribal leaders. No active or strong support was given by the district and community leaders at Porcupine for taking over the BIA's school. As the tribal leaders became involved in other concerns, the idea was abandoned. When the community-controlled school at Porcupine did not develop, the leaders of the Oglala Junior Community of the White Clay District began promoting the idea in their district. It was no accident that the leaders of the Oglala Junior Community should aggressively begin to pursue and enlarge upon this innovative and creative idea that could change the traditional school system of the reservation. This community has the largest number of college graduates of any community on the reservation, although it is still ruled by the ancient and time-honored Oglala Sioux traditons. The community is also populated by a majority of full-blood Indians closely unified by kinship and family ties.

After enlisting the support of the White Clay District leaders and the Education Committee of the Loneman School, the Oglala Junior Community leaders turned the detailed planning for the community controlled school over to the Education Committee. The Education Committee, submitted its recommendation to the Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs during early 1966.

The Committee stated, "While the focus of the Loneman Demonstration School is one of education, its framework is the total environment . . .the social, physical, and economic life of the area and all of its residents." The report stressed the failure of schools to educate Indian children, pointing out the 70 percent dropout rate of high school students coming from the White Clay District. The Committee also noted that those students who completed high school were oriented toward leaving their communities, thus depriving the Indian communities of much needed leadership. The remaining 70 percent who dropped out of school generally remained in their small, isolated rural communities and were identified as the more traditional class of Sioux Indians who represented the hardcore problems of poverty.

The Education Committee proposed that the project be jointly sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The BIA would contract with the Oglala Sioux Tribe to turn the Loneman School plant over to the Tribe, and would also provide the funds that were previously budgeted, in the amount of some $150,000. The Office of Economic Opportunity would provide additional financing for special programs to be developed, as well as for the employment of specialists in education and local people who would serve as teacher aides, bus drivers, and instructors in language and culture. The Oglala Sioux Tribe would operate the school in a "manner demonstrating methods, materials, techniques, and procedures adapted to help the Sioux children obtain optimal results from their educational opportunities." Specific problems to be considered by the school were listed as:

1. Language development and teaching English as a second language,
2. School-community relations and parental involvement in the education processes,
3. Home and school visitation,
4. Cultural identification,
5. Native-language learning,
6. Inservice training and staff orientation,
7. Guidance and counseling,
8. Adult education,
9. Auxiliary services.

The take-over of the Loneman School was planned for the school year of 1966-67. During the summer of 1966, the Education Committee and the leaders in the White Clay District were confident that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would negotiate a contract with them. Gerald One Feather, a college-educated Sioux from the Oglala Junior Community, resigned from his position as a member of the Vista training staff of the Arizona State University to return to his community in order to assist in the transfer of the BIA school to local control. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, indicated that the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council had not agreed to the proposal and that they were thus unable to complete the contract. In compliance with the BIA stipulation, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council unanimously passed a resolution on November 29, 1966, asking the BIA to "make its facilities, funds and equipment availble to the local people to carry on a demonstration school." The Council resolution also proposed that local people administer the funds and operations of the school for five years, at which time an evaluation would be made to determine the effectiveness of this approach.

The superintendent of the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation responded to the Council resolution in a letter dated January 3, 1967, stating that he had no objection to the resolution and its proposal. However, he cautioned that more information and planning were needed so that funds, procedures and answers to any legal questions could be provided. He suggested that the proposal might be considered by the Reservation-wide Planning Committee (a tribal council sub-committee) as part of its long-range planning. The superintendent said, "It has been the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to transfer facilities when there is mutual readiness on the part of all parties concerned and the facilities are adequate for the enrollment. We definitely feel that the facilities at the Loneman Day School are very inadequate." The superintendent pointed out other alternative plans that ought to be considered. He cited these as:

1. Plan a pilot program similar to the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo reservation.
2. Plan and organize a school district and operate it as an independent school district similar to a public school.
3. Continue to operate the school under the BIA system and provide the local Education Committee with inservice training for a specified period of time. Provide additional facilities and updating of the school plant as soon as possible, and then plan transfer of the school to a local school board when there is mutual readiness.

At least one of the Superintendent's recommendations was immediately put into effect. The education staff at the Pine Ridge Agency announced a training program during the month of January 1967 for members of an advisory school board for the schools on the reservation. At a meeting held at the Loneman School, residents of the White Clay District selected seven members, including some from the Education Committee, who would compose the new Advisory School Board. The Board members were to receive training in school administration through the Black Hills Teachers College under a program set up under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The training program was conducted from January until April, 1967.

The response from the Aberdeen Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding the plans of the Loneman School was much more negative. In a meeting held with the members of the Education Committee of the Loneman School in February 1967, the Area Director of Education, who once had served as a teacher in one of the day schools in the White Clay District, implied that the local Indians were no more ready to take over responsibilities for their own affairs than they were some 30 years before when he had served in their community. He asked that the Committee provide him with more concrete and specific details as to how it proposed to operate the school, including guidelines and policies, administrative procedures, curriculum planning, recruitment and training of teachers, and maintenance and development of the school plant and facilities. He also requested endorsements and commitments from organizations and institutions that would provide additional funding and technical assistance.

In compliance with the request from the Area Office, the Education Committee obtained the services of Dr. Robert A. Roessel of the Rough Rock Demonstration School to assist in developing a comprehensive proposal embodying the philosophy of a community-controlled school. Dr. Roessel visited the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation at least three times during 1967.

The newly created Indian Advisory Board of Education for the Loneman School tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the summer of 1966 so that the Indians could operate the school during the school year of 1967-68. The BIA pleaded that it had no funds to make much needed improvements in the school and that it did not want to see the Indians burdened with a school that had inadequate facilities.

Interviews with the participants, both Indian and BIA, indicates that the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials were not opposed to the efforts that were being made by the Advisory School Board and its supporters to take control of the school. The BIA officials assured the Indians that they had every right to suggest and propose changes in the school system that might result in quality education. They were not convinced, however, that the Board was ready to take over the responsibility. In an effort to have the Board reconsider and possibly postpone its plans, the officials advised that the school had inadequate facilities and that the Bureau should turn over the school in good condition. The officials also suggested that new buildings might be added, and that it might be difficult for the Board to acquire building funds in the future. BIA officials also maintained that there was no convincing evidence that all of the people served by the school were supportive of the group that was trying to take over the school.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise attitudes of the local and Aberdeen Area officials regarding the feasibility of turning the

Loneman School over to the local group. There has been no access to official correspondence listing any recommendations that may have been made. However, interviews with the education officials of the Aberdeen Area Office of the BIA do indicate something of their feelings towards the notion of transferring the school to the Indians. First, the officials stated that it was an area policy to transfer BIA schools to the public school system and not to any Indian groups. Secondly, some of the education personnel had taught at Pine Ridge several years before; as previously indicated, one of them said that no change had taken place in the 30 years since he had been on the reservation that would convince him that the Oglala Sioux Indians were ready to assume the responsibilities of running their own affairs, including the operation of a school; in addition, the area education officials felt the demonstration school idea was a scheme developed and promoted by a group of opportunistic and self-seeking Sioux politicians who had yet to demonstrate an ability to achieve success and accomplishment.

The reservation Superintendent advocated restraint and caution, pointing out the need for further discussions, more planning, and awaiting of a more opportune time when everyone was in some kind of agreement, including the Indian people. He was aware of the divergent opinions of all those concerned. He was also aware that establishment of the demonstration school could cause a prolonged period of turmoil in the complicated Federal-tribal structure and in the peculiar Oglala Sioux political structure at the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The position of the Pine Ridge Agency Superintendent is often a ploy used to postpone the day when authority and power must be relinquished. This ploy is often used to rationalize the reluctance to allow the Indians to assume responsibility over their own affairs. Implicit in this attitude is the old fear that the Indians will make a costly mistake and then blame the Federal Government for allowing them to make the mistake by not fulfilling its obligations as a guardian and a trustee. Unfortunately this fear has a precedent. Years ago, the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin successfully sued the Federal Government for millions of dollars for having allowed them to mismanage their timber industry after it had been turned over to them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA officials never fail to mention this case when they are forced to decide if Indians should be given total responsibility over their affairs.

Loneman Demonstration School Proposal--A Political Campaign Issue

During the fall of 1967, the Oglala Sioux Tribe was preparing for its bi-annual tribal election. The administration of Mr. Johnson Holy Rock, Chairman of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council was ending. He was being strongly challenged by Mr. Enos Poor Bear, whom Holy Rock had defeated in the 1966 elections. One of the issues interjected into the political campaign was the demonstration school proposal at Loneman. Mr. Poor Bear charged the Holy Rock administration with having manipulated existing programs and having created doubt and confusion in school affairs. A more specific accusation concerned having obligated the Tribe to purchase for $25,000 two trailers which were housing one of the Head Start classes and the kindergarten class at Loneman.

The tribal elections were held on or about February 13, 1968. Mr. Enos Poor Bear defeated Mr. Johnson Holy Rock and Amos Bad Heart

Bull lost his seat on the council. Mr. Bad Heart Bull was a member of the Executive Committee, a leader of the Oglala Junior Community and staunch supporter of the demonstration school. A short time later Mr. Gerald One Feather was relieved as director of the Community Action Program.

The election followed the pattern of Pine Ridge politics with the ins going out and the outs coming in. There is a saying in Pine Ridge that the incoming administration spends six months straightening out the "mess" created by the previous party in power, six months planning and organizing its program, six months launching its program, and the last six months preparing for the next political campaign, with the results that nothing ever gets done. The so-called spoils system rules the political life of the Oglala Sioux; the available jobs in the tribal administration are the rewards of a winning campaign.

The newly elected Poor Bear administration was installed in office on or about April 10, 1968. A few days later, April 12, 1968, the Director of the Oglala Sioux Community Action Program was advised by Dr. James Wilson, Director of the Indian Desk, Office of Economic Opportunity, that he was not recommending funding of the proposed demonstration school. He cited as his reason the personal objection of Mr. Poor Bear to the establishment of the school. He said, "For you to attempt to operate a demonstration school without the full endorsement of the Tribal Council would seem to be devisive and self-defeating over a long period of time. A demonstration school project is difficult enough even with the support of a Tribal Council inasmuch as there will be at least three federal agencies (BIA, OEO, and USPHS) and the many residents of your local community, involved." The decision by the Indian Desk of the Office of Economic Opportunity was a major blow to the Loneman Demonstration School because its supporters had counted heavily on funding from this agency in the same manner that it had supported the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

The political defeat by opponents who had made a gainful issue of the demonstration school left the Loneman Advisory Board of Education in a quandary during the spring of 1968. When the President of the United States issued a message on American Indians on March 7, 1968, the sagging morale of the School Board was given a much needed boost and hopes were renewed. In his statement, the President asked for the maximum involvement of Indian people in their affairs, calling for "self-help, self-development, and self-determination." He specifically mentioned the need to create Indian school boards of education which would be given increasing responsibilities in the operation of community schools. Hoping that it might be one of the first groups to benefit from the President's statement, the Loneman Advisory School Board submitted its proposal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs once again, despite the opposition of the Tribal Council.

The President's message on American Indians resulted in many discussions about the possibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracting with Indian tribes and private organizations, including Indians, to perform many of the Bureau services--in effect, decentralizing many of the BIA functions. In submitting its final Loneman Demonstration School proposal, the Indian Advisory School Board of Education was posing a crucial question that might have ramifications for other Indian tribes. Was the Bureau of Indian Affairs willing to negotiate and contract with local Indian groups on an Indian reservation for the performance of certain services without the sanction of the Tribal Council, and possibly, even in cases where the Tribal Council might be in opposition?

It has been the usual practice of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as other agencies and organizations to contact and do business only with tribal councils under the assumption that the tribal council is really representative of the Indians. In reality, such is not the case. Many of the powers exercised by the tribal governments are subject to approval or veto of the Secretary of the Interior. True self-government does not actually exist for the Indian tribes; rather the Indian tribes are under the jurisdiction of the United States Government as wards. In addition, the tribal councils are power structures that often oppress their constituents. They can be as guilty as any other political group if they choose to use their power to perpetuate their status. The typical reservation Indian, poor and uneducated, is often too weak from many years of paternalism, oppression, and debilitating factionalism and conflicts to challenge his tribal council.

On the Pine Ridge Reservation, the Tribal Council is not always looked upon with favor. Members or heirs of the old Treaty Council, the predecessor of the present Tribal Council, have never accepted the present form of government. Also, the present Tribal Council has pre-empted many of the powers traditionally performed by the Tiospaye, or the traditional community or band government. In doing so, the Council has caused many endless conflicts over political jurisdiction.

An additional problem created by the political structure of the Pine Ridge reservation is the frequency of elections. Generally there is a change in administration every two years, and a resulting lack of continuity in programs. Programs are constantly the victims of frequent changes in personnel and the ever present chaos created by political maneuverings. In view of this complex situation, the Loneman Demonstration School advocates wanted to know if the Bureau of Indian Affairs could propose a simpler solution so that local Indian groups could assume some control over their affairs without having to reform their tribal government. The Indian Advisory School Board was aware that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had contracted with Dine, Inc., a Navajo non-profit organization, to operate a Federal Boarding School at Rough Rock after fruitless attempts to involve the Navajo Tribal Council. The Bureau had no knowledge at that time if formal sanction had ever been received from the Navajo Tribal Council. On June 16, 1968, the representatives from the White Clay District and the Loneman Advisory School Board met with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. The delegation called attention to the proposals that had been sent to the Central Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs some two months before and requested a decision. The delegation also presented the Commissioner with a signed petition from 240 persons out of some 280 voting members of the White Clay District, asking that the demonstration school proposal be approved.

In making their request to the Commissioner, the delegation reminded him that their trip to Washington had not been sanctioned by the Tribal Council, and that the Tribal Council was opposed to turning the Loneman School over to the Board of Education. The question posed by the delegation was whether the Bureau of Indian Affairs was going to recognize a local group such as the Board of

Education as a legitimate contracting party. The delegation reported that the White Clay District had organized a non-profit corporation called "Oyate, Incorporated" to negotiate with the Bureau in assuming responsibility for the operation of the Loneman School.

Although there were some extreme differences in the political views of the incumbent Tribal Council of the Pine Ridge Reservation and the Loneman School Board members, the delegation did not stress this fact. They emphasized rather the continuous conflict, the uncertainty, and the lack of continuity of many worthwhile efforts which were caused by the inevitable turnover of the tribal administration every two years. The delegation argued that in order to assure continuity and stability over a long period of time, it was necessary to deal with independent local groups of Indians in contracting for various services traditionally performed by the Bureau. The Commissioner appeared to be sympathetic with the arguments presented by the delegation and promised them a definite decision before they left Washington, D.C. The delegation never did hear directly from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

On June 26, 1968, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council passed a resolution calling for a referendum vote on the issue of whether or not the Loneman School should be turned over to the local group for operation. Apparently the Tribal Council was acting in accordance with an earlier decision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.*

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*When the Loneman School delegation was in Washington, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed them that the Bureau was coming out with a policy statement which would provide guidelines for contracting with various groups for operating such activities as schools. In his message to the Bureau of the Budget in November 1968, the Commissioner stated that no BIA schools would be turned

The resolution stated that (a) a referendum was necessary because many of the people in the White Clay District were not properly informed of the implications of turning over the control of a school to a group of opportunists; and (b) the referendum was the only democratic one to resolve the issue.

One may indeed argue that the referendum did provide a democratic way of ascertaining the desires of the people in the White Clay District. On the other hand, the referendum gave certain political forces on the Pine Ridge Reservation the opportunity to shoot down in a few weeks a project that had been in process of developing for at least four years.

One of the first shortcomings of the referendum that was discovered by the supporters of the Loneman Demonstration School was that the referendum had been restricted to the White Clay District and excluded several communities which were outside the district, but which were served by the Loneman School. These patrons of the school were not allowed to vote and their participation may have meant the difference between success and defeat. Although protests were made with respect to these restrictions before the referendum was held, it was to no avail. Restricting the referendum to the political lines of a district rather than to the area served by the school made the Advisory School Board suspect that political intrigue was involved.

The referendum was held in the White Clay District on August 8, 1968. The proposal to turn over the operation of the Loneman School

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over to Indian groups without first ascertaining their wishes through a referendum election. The substance of this statement is contained in a BIA administration publication entitled "Guidelines for Tribe."

to a local group was rejected by a vote of 131 to 104. The results of the referendum came as a complete surprise to the supporters of the demonstration school because they had been assured that a majority of the people would vote in favor of the proposal.

A survey conducted the day after the referendum indicated that the following were among the reasons for the project's defeat:

1. Strong opposition from the Tribal Council and the Council members from the White Clay District.
2. Development of a Parents-Teachers organization which opposed the Advisory School Board.
3. Fear of terminating the Federal supervision over Indian Affairs.
4. Fear of possible violation of treaty rights.
5. Concern about the cost of the running the school if it meant that the local Indians would have to support the school through increased taxation.

It also.appears that some of the negative votes were cast in line with long standing rivalries among Indian groups within the White Clay District. The various reasons given for voting against the proposal suggested that the negative votes were directed not so much against the school innovation itself, but rather were based upon the fear of change in the life of the community. This argument has been used repeatedly to oppose any kind of change on Indian reservations since the early 1950's when the BIA developed as policy the goal of terminating the status of Indian reservations and communities. It was used effectively again in this referendum.

The experience of the Loneman Advisory Board makes it quite clear that the effective assumption of responsibility for Indian education by Indians themselves will not be achieved simply by turning over this responsibility to a local community group. First of all, in many instances Indian groups do not have the experience and training necessary to the task. They have had little experience with formal educational structures, and they are not used to working with the entire community to accomplish a program which is usually controversial. Secondly, it is presently unclear whether the Bureau of Indian Affairs is really interested in turning over some of its control to local Indian groups, or whether it may just be attempting to respond minimally to immediate pressure and popular demands. It is also possible that the Bureau sees community control only as a temporary prelude to transferring responsibility for the educational system to some other governmental agency, either state or federal.

Third, any community group attempting to develop a school or educational program for the community must be extremely sensitive to, and be able to deal effectively with, the various and conflicting forces both within and without the tribal structure that have a stake in the transfer of responsibility. These groups include the tribal government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity, missionaries and traders on the reservation, and informally organized tribal factions. Finally, the concern of Indians about the effect of their actions on the status of treaties and their quasi-sovereign situation may in some instances be well justified. In fact, real change in control of Indian education may have ramifications for the entire policy of the Federal Government with respect to Indian Affairs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the results of our bibliographic and field investigations of Indian education, namely (a) that present classrooms are poorly adapted to the Indian child, and (b) that it is absolutely necessary that Indian communities be allowed to assume major responsibility for the education of their children, we make the following recommendations to government agencies, private foundations, and research interests.

Government

1. We recommend the creation of a Federal Commission to assume control of Indian education, with an explicit mandate to transfer this contro to Indian communities within five years, after which the Commission would cease to exist.

The Commission would assume responsibility for the following: (a) expediting the transfer of control over education to Indian communities by providing legal services; (b) training Indian educators to administer and staff the schools; (c) providing consultant assistance to Indian school boards toward establishing and operating a local school system; (d) providing funds for revising curricula to reflect the history, culture, and values of the Indian people the school serves; and (e) serving as a conduit for Federal support funds, including Johnson-O'Malley funds.

The documentation which this report gives to a continuing history of paternalistic relationships between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian communities provides a strong rationale for immediate implementation of a program to transfer quickly the control of education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to Indian communities.

Three models now exist for such a transfer. The first model is the Rough Rock Demonstration School which is operated by Dine, Inc., a Navajo non-profit organization. The second model is the Blackwater School on the Gila River Pima Indian Reservation in Arizona where an all-Indian School Board of Education has assumed jurisdiction for a former BIA day school. A more recent model is the Tama Community School which will be operated by the Tama Indian Community beginning with the 1969-1970 school year. (The BIA had planned to close this school and to transfer the students to a nearby public school. The Mesquakie Indians of Tama Indian Community protested, and succeeded in getting a court order sustaining the school.)

We would add that the definition of "community" in the transfer process need not be a monolithic one. The Commission could conceivably transfer control to local groups such as Head Start parents advisory committees, tribal councils, or intertribal organizations such as the Arizona Indian Development Association or the California Indian Education Association.

We consider the following factors to be favorable to adoption of the specific method of control transfer which we have recommended above:

- The time limit is long enough to insure that the transfer of control will be orderly, and short enough to reassure the Indian people that the change will occur quickly.
- The limited life and purpose of the Commission will avoid the problem of replacing one vested interest bureaucracy with another.
- With adequate support for training administrators, teachers, and school board members, for revising curriculum, and for

introducing educational innovations, the Federal Government can transfer the schools to local people in a manner that will greatly enhance the schools' chances for success.

- This proposal will not prevent mistakes from being made in the provision of education for Indian children. However, the mistakes will be made by the Indian people themselves, and not by a federal bureaucracy. Considering that our analysis has shown education for Indians to be largely a failure, we do not feel that the mistakes made by the Indian communities would make the situation any worse than it is now.

2. We recommend that, in the interim until the Commission is initiated, there be an alteration in the criteria used within the Bureau of Indian Affairs for making decisions about promotions and financial rewards.

Rather than rewarding field personnel for accurate reporting and tight administration as is now the general practice, rewards should be granted by the degree to which the recipient has: (a) successfully involved members of the Indian community in decision-making at the highest level; (b) transferred some of his responsibilities to Indians; (c) increased the number of Indians holding responsible positions; and (d) encouraged experimentation and innovation. If these criteria were applied to all aspects of the BIA's operations, the result should be an increase in the opportunity for local Indian people to govern their own affairs, at least to the extent that similar opportunities exist for non-Indian communities.

3. In the interim until the Commission is formed, we recommend changes in the procedures of recruiting and selecting educational personnel within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The standards of the education profession rather than those of the Civil Service should determine who shall teach Indian children. Currently, principals must accept a staff chosen by the Bureau Area Office from Civil Service registries, and thus find themselves often burdened by teachers poorly qualified and unadaptable to the special conditions inherent in teaching Indian children.

4. In the interim, we recommend that a definite statement of goals and purposes be made for each of the boarding schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The boarding schools have never been, and are not now, simply "high schools," although that is what they purport to be. We recommend that the boarding schools be converted to special purpose institutions such as terminal vocational centers, academic high schools, remedial and special education centers, junior colleges, special subject schools (such as the Santa Fe Institute of American Indian Art) or regional schools, rather than keep their confused and archaic status as mixed academic, remedial, and disciplinary institutions.

We wish to be perfectly clear and explicit that the above recommendations are not intended in any way to support "termination." We feel that Indian communities have the right to their present legal privileges and immunities for as long as they wish to perpetuate them, and that it is the responsibility of the Congress as well as of the Indian communities to see that these rights are protected.

Private Foundations

1. We recommend that the foundations provide direct support to responsible groups of local Indians involved in educational concerns.

Presently, foundations often support large national organizations in which grant monies are frequently lost in bureaucratic operations and overhead expenses. The groups of parents currently organized on many reservations, such as Head Start advisory groups and the advisory school boards for BIA schools, are in many cases anxious to extend their roles in the operation of educational programs, and require the latitude given by direct financing to formulate plans and initiate pilot projects. Direct financing also promotes the kind of responsible operations and attitudes which must be developed if Indian communities are ever to become independent from external bureaucratic control. We recommend that indirect financing be limited to research of the type which we will describe subsequently, and to programs of consultant assistance to Indian communities.

2. We recommend the support of those research and development projects which will involve the Indian communities at large in educational thought and action.

   As examples, we would cite the following:

   a. Community self-studies. These accomplish the dual purpose of training local Indian people in the techniques of interviewing, questionnaire preparation and administration, bibliographic and documentary research, and data analysis, while also promoting sophisticated understanding by local people of the operations of their own community life. Thus both skills and knowledge indispensible to the administration of community affairs are developed concomitant with the accumulation of valuable data for the social sciences. This type of project also provides latitude for Indian people to develop alternate and indigenous models for research inquiry which may prove to be more effective than current professional techniques.

b. Educational materials libraries, such as the parent-teacher operated "toy libraries" utilized by the Far West Laboratory. The child's use of educational toys in the home is extended in this type of project, to include training of parents to observe the growth fostered by use of the toys, and to participate in learning experiences with their children. Parents thus become involved in basic and conscious processes of education, and interact to a greater extent with each other and with teachers in educational concerns.

4. We recommend that the foundations provide funds for the training and placement of young Indian leaders in research and development projects.

We particularly suggest inte   ip programs in which young men and women could gain field experience in educational affairs, be of service to their communities, and at the same time obtain the academic credentials necessary for education positions at the highest level.

5. *We recommend that the foundations sponsor compensatory evening or summer programs to bolster the written and computational skills which reservation Indians have little chance to develop or practice.*

These skills are invaluable not only for responsible self-government on the reservation, but for life off the reservation, where Indians must deal with the unfamiliar operations of insurance, hospital bills, and taxes.

6. *We recommend that the foundations fund a central clearinghouse for the collection and dissemination of information on research and action projects in Indian communities across the country.*

At present, not only are people involved in action research generally uninformed of similar activities in other parts of the country, but Indians within the community sites of research projects are often completely uninformed as to the purposes and results of research which directly concerns them.

Research Interests

1. *We recommend that future research in Indian communities include an action element oriented to community needs, and that members of the community be as closely involved in the planning and operation of such projects as is possible.*

We have heard Indians express tremendous resentment that the vast amount of research done in their communities has neither been communicated to them, nor has it been organized to be of benefit to them. We must reiterate that action programs be initiated and planned by the community from the beginning. Researchers must not allow themselves to drift into the easy paternalistic roles often desired of them by the community itself. Indian people have too long been encouraged to ask "experts" for advice rather than formulate their own plans, and have therefore never had a real stake in the programs arranged by others for their benefit--programs which have often floundered as soon as the "experts" leave the scene. Directional advice, no matter how informed and well-meaning must be avoided at the commencement of programs until the community has formulated its own goals and set its own course of action.

2. We recommend that where possible Indian communities formulate their own research areas and designs for presentation to funding and research groups.

The Indian communities are thus elevated from the status of experimental "guinea pig" to that of research partner.

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